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**INTRODUCTION**  
**TO**  
**THE NEW TESTAMENT.**

**BY**  
**JOHN DAVID MICHAELIS,**  
**LATE PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF GOTTINGEN, &c.**

**TRANSLATED FROM THE**  
***Fourth Edition of the German,***  
**AND**  
**CONSIDERABLY AUGMENTED WITH NOTES,**  
**AND**  
**A DISSERTATION**  
**ON THE**  
**ORIGIN & COMPOSITION OF THE THREE FIRST GOSPELS.**

**BY**  
**HERBERT MARSH, D.D. F.R.A.S.**  
**LORD BISHOP OF PETERBOROUGH.**

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# INTRODUCTION

TO THE

## SACRED WRITINGS

OF THE

## NEW COVENANT.

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### CHAP. I.

OF THE TITLE USUALLY GIVEN TO THE WRITINGS OF  
THE NEW COVENANT.

**T**HE Collection of Writings composed after the ascension of Christ and acknowledged by his followers to be divine is known in general by the name of *καινη διαθηκη*. This title, though neither given by divine command, nor applied to these writings by the apostles, was adopted in a very early age<sup>a</sup>, though the precise time of its introduction is uncertain, it being justified by several passages in scripture<sup>b</sup>, and warranted by the authority of St. Paul in particular, who calls the sacred books before the time of Christ *παλαια διαθηκη*<sup>c</sup>. Even long before that period either the whole of the Old Testament, or the five books of Moses were entitled *βιβλιον διαθηκης* or Book of the Covenant<sup>d</sup>.

As the word *διαθηκη* admits of a twofold interpretation, we may translate this title either The New Covenant or  
the

<sup>a</sup> Matth. xxvi. 28. Gal. iii. 17. Heb. viii. 8. ix. 15—20.

<sup>b</sup> 2 Cor. iii. 14.

<sup>c</sup> 1 Mac. i. 57.

the New Testament. The former translation must be adopted, if respect be had to the texts of scripture, from which the name is borrowed, since those passages evidently convey the idea of a covenant<sup>d</sup>; and besides, a Being incapable of death can neither have made an old, nor make a new testament. It is likewise probable that the earliest Greek disciples, who made use of this expression, had no other notion in view than that of Covenant. We on the contrary are accustomed to give this sacred collection the name of Testament; and since it would be not only improper, but even absurd to speak of the Testament of God, we commonly understand the Testament of Christ, an explanation which removes but half the difficulty, since the new only, and not the old had Christ for its testator.

The name of New Testament is derived from the Latin Version, in which *διαθηκη*, even in those passages where contract or covenant is clearly the subject of discourse, is translated Testamentum. But this must be regarded rather as an harsh Grecism than as an error<sup>e</sup> in the Latin Translator, who rendering a word, that admits in the original of the double sense of Will and Contract, used Testamentum in the same extent of meaning, considering testor to convey the idea of a bond. Whoever reads the ninth Chapter of Genesis in the vulgate<sup>f</sup>, will be convinced that the translator understood by Testamentum simply a covenant. *Ecce ego excito testamentum meum vobis*, (says God to those who were saved from the Deluge). *Hoc signum testamenti mei, quod ego ponam inter me et vos et omnem animam vivam, et erit signum testamenti æterni inter me et inter terram*<sup>g</sup>. *Et memor ero testamenti mei quod est inter me et inter vos et omnem animam vivam.* This testamentum which God declares he will remember, is a covenant, never to destroy again the earth by a general deluge.

The

<sup>d</sup> See my Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>e</sup> The word *inter* from its reciprocal sense evidently shews that testamentum here signifies a covenant.

. The sacred writers themselves have no general name for the whole collection<sup>5</sup>, which neither was nor could be made as long as the Apostles lived, it being uncertain what productions might still proceed from their hands; and the Gospel of St. John was undoubtedly written at a very late period, and still later, as many suppose, the book of revelation. The Apostles seldom quote either from their own writings, or from those of the other Apostles, since they were at that time too recent to be generally known in all the churches: but in those cases in which quotations are used they express themselves, “I wrote to you in an epistle<sup>f</sup>,” or “As our beloved brother Paul also according to the wisdom given unto him hath written unto you<sup>g</sup>,” &c. In these and similar instances they refer only to such epistles as had been written to the same community to which they were writing themselves<sup>h</sup>: to the epistles of St. Paul alone are such references to be found, and, what is a singular circumstance, to those rules which are lost<sup>i</sup>.

The expression likewise *παρα γραφην*, which is used by St. Paul in his second epistle to Timothy<sup>h</sup>, can hardly signify his own writings and those of the other Apostles, since according to the tenor of the whole passage it conveys the same meaning with *παρα γραμματα* used in the preceding sentence, scriptures which Timothy had learnt from a child, and which could mean therefore the writings of the Old Testament alone, not those of the Apostles and Evangelists<sup>i</sup>.

The above remarks, though unimportant in themselves, afford however an opportunity of making a general observation which we shall find of considerable weight in the sequel, ‘That the Apostles who so frequently quote the writings of the Old Testament rarely quote those of the new. They were at that time too recent, and too little known to the Christians in general to form a subject of quotation, since otherwise St. Paul would hardly have omitted, in writing his first epistle to the Corinthians, to quote in the fifteenth chapter the Gospel of St. Matthew, whose

<sup>f</sup> 1 Cor. v. 9.

<sup>g</sup> 2 Pet. iii. 15.

<sup>h</sup> Ch. iii. 16.

whose writings bore testimony to the resurrection of Christ<sup>2</sup>. We have the same reason to believe that the epistles of St. Paul to the Galatians, Thessalonians, and Corinthians were not known at Rome at the time when he wrote his epistle to the Romans. The cause of such omissions, which take place in every epistolary correspondence, will serve likewise to explain the appearance of similar neglect in the epistles of Clemens Romanus.

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## C H A P. II.

### OF THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

#### S E C T. I.

*Importance of this inquiry, and its influence on the question of the divine origin of the Christian religion<sup>1</sup>.*

**B**EFORE we proceed to examine the various grounds for the authenticity of the New Testament, it may not be improper to premise a few observations on the importance of this inquiry, and its influence in determining the divinity of the Christian religion. And we shall find its influence to be such, as to make it a matter of surprise that the adversaries of Christianity have not constantly made their first attacks upon this quarter. For, if they admit these writings to be as ancient as we pretend, and really composed by the persons to whom they are ascribed, though we cannot from these premises alone immediately conclude them to be divinely inspired, yet an undeniable consequence is the truth and divinity of the religion itself<sup>2</sup>. The Apostles allude frequently in their epistles to the gift of miracles, which they had communicated to the Christian converts by the imposition of hands in confirmation of the doctrine delivered in their speeches and writings, and sometimes to miracles which they themselves had performed<sup>3</sup>. Now if these epistles are really genuine, it is hardly possible to deny those miracles to be true. The case is here entirely different from that of an historian, who

who relates extraordinary events in the course of his narrative, since either credulity or an actual intention to deceive may induce him to describe as true a series of falsehoods respecting a foreign land, or distant period. Even to the Evangelists might an adversary of the Christian religion make this objection: but to write to persons with whom we stand in the nearest connexion, 'I have not only performed miracles in your presence, but have likewise communicated to you the same extraordinary endowments,' to write in this manner, if nothing of the kind had ever happened, would require such an incredible degree of effrontery, that he who possessed it would not only expose himself to the utmost ridicule, but giving his adversaries the fairest opportunity to detect his imposture would ruin the cause, which he attempted to support.

St. Paul's first epistle to the Thessalonians is addressed to a Christian community, which he had lately founded, and to which he had preached the Gospel only three sabbath days<sup>1</sup>. A sudden persecution obliged him to quit this community, before he had given it its proper degree of consistence, and, what is of consequence in the present instance, he was protected neither by the power of the magistrate, nor the favour of the vulgar. A pretended wonder-worker, who has once drawn the populace to his party, may easily perform miracles, and safely proclaim them. But this very populace at the instigation of the Jews who had considerable influence, excited the insurrection which obliged St. Paul to quit the town<sup>2</sup>. He sends therefore to the Thessalonians, who had received the Gospel, but whose faith he apprehended might waver through persecution, authorities and proofs of his divine mission<sup>3</sup>, of which authorities the first and chief are miracles, and the gifts of the Holy Ghost. *Οτι το ευαγγελιον ημων εκ εγεννηθη εις υμας εν λογω μονον αλλα και εν δυναμει<sup>4</sup>, και*

<sup>1</sup> Acts xvii. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Acts xvii. 5—10.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Thess. i. 5—10.

<sup>4</sup> *Δυναμις* signifies here as well as in many other passages the power of working miracles. It is properly a Chaldaism from *ܕܢܚܢܐ*<sup>4</sup> which signifies 1. Power. 2. Miracle<sup>5</sup>. See my note to this passage<sup>6</sup>, and the principal text, Mark vi. 5.



εν πνευματι ἁγίῳ ἐν πληροφορίᾳ πολλῇ. Is it possible without forfeiting all pretensions to common sense that, in writing to a community, which he had lately established, he could speak of miracles performed, and gifts of the Holy-Ghost communicated, if no member of the society had seen the one, or received the other?

He appeals to the same evidence with respect to the Corinthians, who were highly dissatisfied both with him, and his doctrine, being prejudiced against him by his numerous antagonists, who uniting violence with authority watched every opportunity of detecting errors, and caught at every failure, that might refute and confound him<sup>a</sup>.

Καὶ ὁ λόγος μὲ καὶ τὸ κήρυγμα μὲ εἶ ἐν πειθούῃ σοφίας λόγοις, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀποδείξει πνεύματος καὶ δυνάμεως. Πνεῦμα signifies in the writings of St. Paul in general and in this epistle in particular the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost, such as the gift of languages, and others which are described in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth chapters.

To the Jewish converts likewise, who were in danger of becoming apostates from the religion, which they had adopted, he represents the greatness of their crime, if they rejected a religion, to which God bore witness with signs and wonders, and with divers miracles, and gifts of the Holy Ghost<sup>b</sup>. And he reminds them in another passage<sup>c</sup> that they had tasted of the heavenly gift (i. e. the New Covenant) and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost.

In the same manner St. Paul attempting to convince the Galatians, who had departed from the purity of the Gospel, that it was necessary to abolish the Mosaic law proposes the following question<sup>d</sup>, 'Received ye the Spirit by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith?' Would an impostor endowed with that degree of judgment, which no one can deny to St. Paul who has read attentively his epistles particularly those to Timothy, and his various transactions recorded in the acts of the apostles, appeal against the avowed enemies of the new religion not only to miracles performed by himself, but to supernatural

<sup>a</sup> 1 Cor. ii. 4.

<sup>b</sup> Heb. vi. 4, 5.

<sup>c</sup> Heb. ii. 1—4.

<sup>d</sup> Gal. iii. 5.

supernatural endowments imparted to the very persons to whom he wrote, if they could have replied, 'We are ignorant of these endowments, we understand not what is meant by gifts of the Holy Ghost?'

The same apostle in his first epistle to the Corinthians<sup>\*</sup> corrects the abuse of certain spiritual gifts, particularly that of speaking divers kinds of tongues, and prescribes rules for the employment of these supernatural talents: he enters into a particular detail of them, as they existed in the Corinthian community, reasons on their respective worth and excellence, says they are limited in duration, no distinguishing mark of divine favour, nor so important as faith and virtue, the love of God, and charity for our neighbour. Now if this epistle was really written by St. Paul to the Corinthians, and they had actually received no spiritual gifts, no power imparted by extraordinary means of speaking foreign languages, the proper place to be assigned him were not among impostors, but among those who had lost their understanding. A juggler may deceive by the dexterity of his hands, and persuade the ignorant and the credulous that more than human means are requisite for the performance of his extraordinary feats, but he will hardly persuade those, whose understandings remain unimpaired, that he has likewise communicated to his spectators the power of working miracles, and of speaking languages which they had never learnt, were they conscious of their inability to perform the one, or speak the other. It is true that this argument would lose its force on the hypothesis, which Semler has adopted in his explanation of this epistle<sup>†</sup>, viz. that St. Paul alludes in the abovementioned chapters not to supernatural gifts, but merely to certain offices in the church, the exercise of which required only natural knowledge and ability; and that the gift of tongues respects those foreigners who were employed as ministers in the Corinthian church, in

order

<sup>\*</sup> Ch. xii. xiii. xiv.

<sup>†</sup> I. S. Semleri paraphrasis in primam Pauli ad Corinthios epistolam cum notis, et Latinarum translationum excerptis. Halæ Magdeburgicæ 1773.

order that strangers who frequented the city whether Syrians, Arabians, or Egyptians might hear the Gospel in their native language<sup>7</sup>. But I can hardly persuade myself that an impartial reader, who attends to the connexion of these several chapters, will be of Semler's opinion: this at least is certain, that no professed adversary of the Christian religion has ever had recourse to this evasion, notwithstanding Theologians<sup>8</sup> themselves have paved the way for similar explanations. A circumstantial refutation of this new and extraordinary hypothesis would be too prolix for the present treatise<sup>9</sup>; a commentary on the epistle itself, should I ever write one, would be the proper place to introduce what at present I must confine to my public lectures<sup>10</sup>.

To suppose that an impostor could write to the converts or adversaries of the new religion not only these, but even subsequent epistles with a degree of triumph over his opponents, and yet maintain his authority, implies ignorance and stupidity hardly to be believed, not only in the Hebrews and Galatians, but even in the inhabitants of Thessalonica and Corinth, cities which never lay under the weight of so heavy a suspicion. Credulous as the Christians have been in later ages, and even so early as the third century, no less severe were they in their inquiries, and guarded against deception at the introduction of Christianity. This character is given them even by Lucian<sup>11</sup> who vented his satire not only against certain Christians<sup>12</sup>, who had supplied Peregrinus with the means of subsistence, but also against heathen oracles and pretended wonders. He relates of his impostor (Pseudomantis) that he attempted nothing supernatural in the presence of the Christians and Epicureans. This Pseudomantis exclaims before the whole assembly, 'Away with the Christians, away with the Epicureans, and let those only remain who believe in the Deity'<sup>13</sup>! (αἰσχροῦς τῷ Θεῷ) upon which the populace took up stones, to drive

\* See the Orientalische Bibliothek 7, Vol. I. p. 99 — 102.

<sup>11</sup> De morte Peregrini, § 12, 13. 16. Ed. Reitz, Tom. III. p. 334—338. 311.

drive away the suspicious<sup>13</sup>, while the other philosophers Pythagoreans, Platonists, and Stoics, as credulous friends and protectors of the cause, were permitted to remain<sup>14</sup>. This author, who lived in the middle of the second century, was chiefly acquainted with the Christians of Syria, who were mostly of Jewish origin<sup>15</sup>, and much less enlightened than the Christians of Greece. If we ascend still higher, we find that the chief reason, which occasioned the Gospel of Luke, was a desire of contradicting or correcting the accounts of divers miracles, which ungrounded reports had brought into general circulation. But setting these circumstances aside, and admitting the primitive Christians to have been credulous even in the highest degree, it is yet impossible that they could imagine themselves endowed with the power of speaking languages to which they were utter strangers: and such epistles as they received from St. Paul could no impostor have written, and still remain their apostle.

I have acknowledged above, that the arguments, which have been here adduced, are not applicable to the relation which the Evangelists give of the miracles of Christ, because in this respect they are merely historians. But the three first Gospels, admitting them to be genuine, demonstrate, though on different principles, yet with equal certainty the truth of the Christian religion, because they contain prophecies which were afterwards fulfilled. Were they composed by the authors to whom they are ascribed, they must have been written before the commencement of the Jewish war and the destruction of Jerusalem, that of St. Luke in particular of which the Acts of the Apostles are a continuation, a history compiled in the second year<sup>16</sup> of St. Paul's imprisonment at Rome, and which ceases before the commencement of the troubles in Judea. And yet they contain a plain and circumstantial account of this impending calamity<sup>17</sup>, and determine the period, when this prediction

<sup>13</sup> Alexander seu Pseudomantis, § 25. 38. Tom. II. p. 232, 233. 244, 245.

<sup>14</sup> They abandoned Peregrinus because he had eaten unclean meats. De morte Peregrini, § 16.

<sup>15</sup> Matth. xxiv. Mark xiii. Luke xxi. 5—36.

prediction was to be accomplished: of which mention is likewise made in the epistles<sup>2</sup>, where we find what expectations were raised upon this subject by the prophecy of Christ<sup>3</sup>. It were a bold assertion that by accident alone was fulfilled a prediction thus circumstantially delivered, and thus precise in limiting the period of its accomplishment. ‘Verily I say unto you this generation shall not pass, till all these things be fulfilled.’ Besides, the knowledge of it had been so industriously propagated by the Apostles among the several communities, that the truth of this prediction seemed in a great measure to determine the truth of the religion: they would therefore hardly have ventured to expose both themselves and their sect to so dangerous a trial, had no such prophecy been given by Christ. Let it be objected that human sagacity were sufficient to foresee that the misfortunes, which had long threatened, must at last fall upon the Jews, since the storm had been gathering at a distance, before it burst forth with violence: but precisely to determine not only that series of events recorded by St. Matthew<sup>4</sup>, but even the period of its accomplishment is surely beyond the reach of human foresight. We may go still further, and deny that human penetration could have foreseen in that age even the event itself, of which Josephus in his history of the Jewish war affords the strongest proof. For, although there existed so early, as the year in which Christ was crucified, various causes which afterwards contributed to the storm, that broke over Jerusalem, yet from these causes neither the destruction of the city, nor even the Jewish war would have followed, had not a number of unexpected, and at that time improbable circumstances arisen, of which no one by human means during the life of Christ, or even the lives of St. Peter and St. Paul could have had the smallest conception. The injustice of the Roman Governors, which at length excited a general rebellion, did not arise to such a pitch as to become intolerable till long after the death of Christ; the administration of Pilate compared with that of his successors

<sup>2</sup> Heb. x. 25. 36—39. James v. 1—8.<sup>3</sup> Ch. xxiv. 6—31.

successors was virtuous, and the government also of these when compared with that of Gessius Florus<sup>b</sup> the last Procurator of Judea, whose cruelties drove the nation to despair, and who purposely forced them to an open rebellion, in order to avoid, what the Jews had threatened, an accusation before the Roman emperor. This Florus was the successor of Albinus, and Albinus that of Festus, under whose administration St. Paul was sent prisoner to Rome. No political wisdom could have predicted these events so early as the crucifixion, or even during the period in which were written the apostolic epistles. The troops likewise which lay in garrison at Cæsarea, and afterwards fanned into an open flame the sparks of rebellion, which seemed almost extinguished, had been commanded by the emperor Claudius to leave their native country, and march into Pontus, he intending to supply their place by a garrison more attached to Rome. Had this command been executed, it is probable that no Jewish war would have followed, and no destruction of Jerusalem. But they sent a suppliant embassy to Claudius, and obtained permission to remain. Josephus makes on this occasion the following remark, ‘ These are the persons, who occasioned the dreadful calamities which befel the Jews, and laid during the government of Florus the foundation of those troubles, which afterwards broke out into an open war, on which account they were banished from the province by order of Vespasian<sup>c</sup>. The circumstance which gave birth to these misfortunes is so trifling in itself, that independent of its consequences it would hardly deserve to be recorded<sup>d</sup>. In the narrow entrance to a synagogue in Cæsarea some person had made an offering of birds, merely with a view to irritate the Jews. The insult excited their indignation, and occasioned the shedding of blood. Without this trifling accident, which no human wisdom could have foreseen even the day before it happened, it is possible that the prophecy of Christ would

<sup>b</sup> Josephus de Bello Judaico, Lib. II. c. 14, 15.

<sup>c</sup> Joseph. Antiquitat. Lib. XIX. c. 9. f. 2.

<sup>d</sup> Josephus de Bello Judaico, Lib. II. c. xiv. f. 5.

would never have been fulfilled. For the Jews were resolved at all events to avoid an open rebellion, well knowing the greatness of their danger, and submitted to be oppressed by the Roman Governor, in the hope of laying their complaints before the throne of the emperor. But Florus regardless of the submission and intreaties of the Jews, and even of the intercession of Berenice, designedly converted this private quarrel into public hostilities, and compelled the Jewish nation to rebel against its will. But, notwithstanding this open rebellion, a variety of circumstances<sup>e</sup> occurred, which seemed to render the destruction of the temple an event highly improbable; the recall of Vespasian into Italy when Jerusalem was in danger, and the gentle character of Titus<sup>16</sup> who succeeded to the command of the Roman army in Judea gave little ground to suspect so dreadful a calamity. It appears therefore from this whole detail, whose length the dignity of the subject will excuse, that no human wisdom during the life of Christ could have foreseen the destruction of the temple, and therefore that the wisdom which uttered the prophecy was divine.

So important then is the question whether the books of the New Testament be genuine, that the same arguments which demonstrate the authenticity of these writings<sup>f</sup>, evince at the same time the truth of our religion.

## S E C T.

<sup>e</sup> Josephus de Bello Judaico, Lib. II. c. 19. Lib. IV. c. 9, and Abulfedæ Descriptio Ægypti, Arab. et Lat. cum notis Michaelis, Goettingæ, 1776. p. 121.

<sup>f</sup> The best treatises upon this subject are Lardner's Credibility of the Gospel History, and Less's Truth of the Christian Religion<sup>17</sup>. The former of these works, which has been censured for its prolixity, contains a very large collection of testimonies from the Fathers and other antient writers, and is highly valuable to those who would examine the whole series of evidence for the authenticity of the New Testament. The works of Lardner have been less read, than they deserve: every one interested in this inquiry should possess them, were it only for occasional reference, and they are indispensable to a clergyman, who cannot remain indifferent on so important a subject, and whose duty is not only to believe but to be convinced. The latter of these works is more agreeable



## S E C T. II.

*Of objections made to these writings in general, and of those of Faustus the Manichæan in particular.*

**V**ARIOUS Sceptics have presumed to contest the antiquity of these writings in a body, and to deny that they were composed in the first century by those authors whose names they bear. The question here to be examined is the charge that is laid, and in what manner the charge must be answered, with respect to these writings in general: the objections which have been made to the authenticity of particular books, such as the Revelation of St. John, his second and third epistles, the second epistle of St. Peter, &c. will be examined in the second part of this work.

The most celebrated who have betrayed a suspicion of this sort are to be found among the moderns. A passage in Toland's life of Milton<sup>§</sup> has given ground to suppose that he entertained these sentiments; but in his defence of the life of Milton he disavows his having meant the writings which we receive as inspired, nor do the words on which the charge is founded necessarily imply such a construction,

able to read because prolixity is avoided, and it is easy to oversee the whole chain of reasoning at a single view<sup>18</sup>. Various testimonies, which Lardner had quoted, are omitted by Less, because they were not sufficiently convincing, and he has supplied what Lardner had omitted. Every reader will remark, in perusing this treatise, what I have learnt in frequent conversation with the author, that it is the result of a conscientious, even anxiously conscientious inquiry, which he had instituted for his own private conviction. Doubts, on which Lardner never thought, he has felt and proved.

To these authors then I refer my readers for more perfect satisfaction upon this subject, who will excuse me therefore if, instead of quoting at length the testimonies of the antients for the antiquity of the New Testament, I content myself with arranging the arguments under their respective heads, and introducing occasionally such remarks as appear to be new.

<sup>§</sup> See Toland's Life prefixed to his works, p. 27—36. and Mosheim's *Vindiciæ antiquæ Christianorum disciplinæ contra Tolandum*, p. 91—104.



construction, though the author probably entertained opinions, which had he lived in the present age, he might have more openly avowed. Yet though he believed not the truth of the Christian religion, he had too much sagacity to make an objection that militates against every degree of probability. But an anonymous Italian ventured in a letter to le Clerc to advance the following suspicion. ‘It is possible that in the fifth century during the period in which the Goths overran Italy, four persons of superior understanding might unite in forging the writings of the apostles, as well as of the fathers, and falsify some passages of Josephus and Suetonius, in order to introduce into the world by the means of this imposture a new and more rational religion.’ These four persons who must have been very conversant in the Jewish Theology, and in both Jewish and Heathen antiquity, are therefore charged with the immense labour of forging all the writings of the Fathers, and of inventing that variety of style and sentiment by which they are distinguished. But he could hardly attribute to them a less laborious undertaking, since the writings of the New Testament are not only quoted by the Fathers, but likewise expounded in voluminous commentaries. In fact this were insufficient, since the writings of the heretics, nay even of those who were enemies to the Christian religion, such as Porphyry for instance, who endeavoured by his satirical objections to turn the New Testament into ridicule, and whose works therefore a false though pious zeal has at length annihilated, must have likewise made a part of this wonderful forgery. To this letter, whose author through ignorance of the real state of the case had fixed on too late a century, le Clerc has given a serious and solid answer in his *Bibliothèque ancienne et moderne* <sup>1</sup>.

There is likewise a passage of the same import in Lord Bolingbroke’s *Letters on the Study of History* <sup>2</sup>, in which he exposes a want of judgement in those, who attempt to vindicate the antiquity of the sacred writings by examples drawn from the fathers of the first century, with a design to prove, that these fathers had read the Gospels, though

though the instances alledged amount to no demonstration. For a more particular account of his objection, as well as for the answer, I shall refer my readers to the works of Dr. Less, whom this pointed remark of Bolingbroke has led to a more accurate investigation of the subject<sup>3</sup> in his 'Truth of the Christian Religion.'

It is somewhat extraordinary that the adversaries of Revealed Religion, and even Bolingbroke himself, chuse seldom to make their attack in a direct and immediate manner: they seem sensible, those at least among them who have sense and knowledge, of the difficulties with which this pretended forgery in so late a period must be attended, and apprehensive it might betray the weakness of their cause to pronounce at once the whole collection an imposture.

The suspicions which have been raised by authors of the present century are by no means so dangerous, as those excited by earlier writers. The same objections advanced in the third or fourth century have infinitely more weight; and as an instance of this sort is really to be found among the Manichæans, it cannot in our present enquiry be passed over in silence. There are preserved in the works of Augustin several passages from Faustus the Manichæan, who pronounces on this subject with a degree of decision. In replying to these words of the orthodox Christians, 'If ye adopt the Gospel,' ye cannot fail of believing the whole of its contents'<sup>4</sup> he says even the Orthodox did not consider themselves bound to observe all that was contained in the Old Testament, and proceeds<sup>5</sup> 'an, si patris testamentum habet aliqua, in quibus parum debeat audiri (patris enim esse vultis Judaicam legem, cujus novimus quam multa vobis horrorem, quam multa pudorem faciant, ut quantum ad animum jam dudum ipsi judicaveritis eam non esse sinceram<sup>1</sup>, quamvis partim pater ipse ut creditis digito suo eam

<sup>3</sup> Augustinus contra Faustum. Lib. XXXII. c. 2.

<sup>1</sup> The orthodox had sometimes recourse to this evasion in their controversies with the Gnostics, and perhaps with the Manichæans, when pressed

eam vobis, partim Moyſes ſcripſerit, fidelis et integer) ſolius putatis filii teſtamentum non potuiſſe corrumpi, ſolum non habere aliquid quod in ſe debeat improbari? præſertim quod nec ab ipſo ſcriptum conſtat, nec ab ejus apoſtoliſ, ſed longo poſt tempore a quibuſdam incerti nominis viris, qui ne ſibi non haberetur fides ſcribentibus quæ neſcirent, partim apoſtolorum nomina, partim eorum, qui apoſtolos ſequuti viderentur ſcriptorum ſuorum frontibus indiderant, aſſeverantes ſecundum eos ſe ſcripſiſſe quæ ſcripſerunt. Quo magis mihi videntur injuriâ gravi adſeciſſe diſcipulos Chriſti, quia quæ diſſona iidem et repugnantia ſibi ſcriberent, ea referrent ad ipſos et ſecundum eos hæc ſcribere ſe profiterentur evangelia, quæ tantis ſunt reſerta erroribus, contrarietatibus narrationum ſimul ac ſententiarum, ut nec ſibi prorſus nec inter ſe ipſa convenient.' The concluſion he thence draws is nearly the ſame with that of ſeveral of the moderns, who have leſs openly maintained the above premiſes, viz. that thoſe parts of the New Teſtament, which tend to edification and improvement, ought to be admitted, and the remainder of theſe writings rejected<sup>k</sup>. But it would be better, in my opinion, to philoſophize on the ſubject of religion independent of the Chriſtian ſyſtem, than to make extracts from a book, where we have liberty to accept or reſuſe.

Another objection is in the 3<sup>d</sup> Chap. of the xxxiii<sup>d</sup> book, in which he introduces a text of ſcripture<sup>l</sup> frequently uſed in the Manichæan controverſy, on which he remarks that St. Luke in the parallel paſſage<sup>m</sup> makes  
no

preſſed by their adverſaries with ſuch expreſſions, as ' God repented,' &c<sup>n</sup>. and unable, in conſequence of their ignorance in philology, to give a proper reply. See my Diſſertatio de indiciis Gnoſticæ philoſophiæ tempore LXX interpretum, in the Syntagma commentationum. Pars II. p. 266, 267.

<sup>k</sup> Quæ quia nos legentes animadvertimus cordis obtutu ſaniffimo æquiffimum judicavimus, acceptis utilibus ex iſdem, id eſt, iis quæ et fidem noſtram ædificent, et Chriſti Domini atque ejus Patris, omnipotentis Dei propagent gloriam. cætera repudiare, quæ nec ipſorum majeſtati, nec fidei noſtræ convenient.

<sup>l</sup> Matth. viii. 11.

no mention of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and that beside this omission a variety of contradictions are to be found between the two evangelists. Nec immerito nos ad hujusmodi scripturas tam inconsonantes et varias nunquam sane sine judicio et ratione aures adferimus, perpendimus utrum eorum quidque a Christo dici potuerit nec ne. Multa enim a majoribus vestris eloquiis Domini nostri inserta verba sunt, quæ nomine signata ipsius cum ejus fide non congruunt: præsertim, quia ut jam sæpe probatum a nobis est, nec ab ipso hæc sunt, nec ab apostolis ejus scripta, sed multo post eorum assumptionem a nescio quibus, et inter se non concordantibus semi-judeis, per famas opinionesque comperta sunt: qui tamen omnia eadem in apostolorum Domini conferentes nomina, vel eorum, qui secuti apostolos viderentur, errores ac mendacia sua secundum eos se scripsisse mentiti sunt<sup>7</sup>. Faustus presupposes then the New Testament to contain a variety of true accounts relating to the actions and doctrines of Christ and his Apostles, but that the several books are not merely interpolated (in which case the question would belong to another part of this work) but composed by certain unknown persons, who living in a much later period than those, to whom these writings are ascribed, have confounded in their narratives truth with falsehood. He insists even that the very titles *Evangelium secundum Matthæum*, &c. are a proof that they were not written by the Evangelists themselves, but merely a compilation according to what the Evangelists in a former period had verbally taught. He frequently assigns reasons, though they are in general extremely weak, why certain passages cannot possibly have been written by the apostle or evangelist to whom they are ascribed<sup>8</sup>, and from the grounds on which he maintains the spuriousness of these parts he concludes against the authenticity of the whole.

Beausobre (*Histoire de Manichee*, tom. I. p. 298) is of opinion that Faustus made an exception in favour of the Gospel of St. John, and believed it to be genuine<sup>9</sup>.

But

<sup>7</sup> Lib. XXX. c. i. et Lib. XXXI. c. i.

But even that admits a doubt. Faustus (Lib. XVII. c. i.) speaking of the words used by Christ, Matth. v. 17. 'Think not that I am come to destroy the law and the prophets,' says, *Quis hoc testatur dixisse Jesum? Matthæus! Ubi dixisse? In monte! Quibusnam præsentibus? Petro Andrea, Jacobo et Johanne, quatuor his tantum, cæteros enim nondum elegerat, nec ipsum Matthæum. Ex his ergo quatuor unus, id est, Johannes, evangelium scripsit: Ita! Alicubi hoc ipse commemorat? Nusquam! Quomodo ergo quod Johannes non testatur, qui fuit in monte, Matthæus hoc scripsit qui longo intervallo postquam Jesus de monte descendit secutus est eum? Ac per hoc de hoc ipso primo ambigitur utrum Jesus tale aliquid dixerit quia testis idoneus tacet, loquitur autem minus idoneus.* Here it is evident that the object of Faustus was to confute the orthodoxy, by using their own weapons without acknowledging them to be genuine. Nor must we conclude that a Manichæan admitted the authenticity of the New Testament, because he quoted it either in support of his own tenets, or in confutation of the arguments advanced by his opponents. This mistake has been committed by Lardner, who in the long article relating to the Manichæans, which contains so much beautiful historical matter, appears rather as the warm advocate for the Christian cause, than the cool and impartial inquirer into truth.

The name then of Manichæan so celebrated in the third and fourth centuries may form a weighty hindrance to the Christian cause: if the doubts were actually raised in so early a period, the authenticity of these writings may appear in danger. We should have reason to fear these apprehensions to be grounded, had the objections been made by men conversant in literary history, philology, and criticism; but the matter begins to bear a different appearance the moment we reflect that they proceeded from philosophers, who without further knowledge than that of their sect, and even ignorant of Greek, attempted to weave their favourite maxims into the religion of Christ. I will divide my remarks upon this subject into the following heads.

1st. It is by no means certain that all the Manichæans judged so unfavourably of the writings of the New Testament as Faustus, who lived in Africa, a country unenlightened, and unacquainted with any other than the Latin language; and we have no reason to conclude the same of Manes, and of those who lived in a still earlier period. But admitting it to be true that Manes, who lived in the middle of the third century, had entertained the same sentiments, still they would be

2dly. The sentiments of a stranger, and one totally unqualified to form an adequate judgement.

If a man acquainted with natural philosophy, or versed in the mazes of metaphysics, but at the same time ignorant of Greek, should attempt to criticise on the Iliad, and deny it to be the production of Homer, there is no one who would attend to his objections. But he possesses penetration and judgement: Admitted; yet he is devoid of those very qualities which are requisite to judge of the antiquity of the Iliad, a knowledge of history and language. To make the matter more pointed; suppose a sensible and learned Mandarin, who bore an eminent rank among the literati of his own country, should come from China, and without the knowledge of the German maintain that the confession of Augsberg, composed in 1530, were a forgery of later times, it is hardly probable that any one would listen a moment to the grounds of his disbelief.

But this was exactly the case with Manes. He appears to have been endowed with a considerable share of penetration, well versed in the Persian or a still more Eastern philosophy, and often superior to the orthodox in the subtleties of dispute. But the Greek language was totally unknown to him<sup>o</sup>, and the learned language which he used was Syriac. Shall this person then, who presumed to reform the Christian religion by his Persian philosophy, be deemed capable of deciding on the authenticity of a work written originally in Greek? He was not only unqualified to read the New Testament in the original, but was likewise devoid of every idea of Grecian

and other European literature, was unable to read the works of the fathers, heretics and enemies of the Christian religion, from which alone can be decided whether the writings attributed to the apostles are as antient as we pretend, whether they have been acknowledged from the earliest times as authentic and genuine, or whether a period elapsed from the death of the apostles, in which they were unknown, and after which they were suddenly and unexpectedly brought to light.

3. Faustus, the only Manichæan of whom we have positive accounts that he denied the books of the New Testament to have been written by those authors to whom they are ascribed, and who lived an hundred and fifty years still later than Manes, was likewise as unqualified to investigate this subject. It cannot be denied that he was endowed with sense and penetration, and possessed of, what Augustin himself allows, a share of eloquence, but he was so partial a disputant that his word is of little weight. Ignorant, as were most of the African writers, of the Greek language<sup>11</sup>, and acquainted with the New Testament merely through the channel of the Latin Translation, he was not only devoid of a sufficient fund of learning, but illiterate in the highest degree. An argument which he brings against the genuineness of the Gospel affords sufficient ground for this assertion, for he contends that the Gospel of St. Matthew could not have been written by St. Matthew himself, because he is always mentioned in the third person. These are his very words, *Matthæum hæc non scripsisse sed alium sub nomine ejus, quod docet et ipsa lectionis ejusdem Matthæi oblique narratio. Quid enim dicit? et cum transiret Jesus vidit hominem sedentem ad telonium, nomine Matthæum, et vocavit eum, et ille confestim surgens secutus est eum, ac non potius dicat 'vidit me, et vocavit me, et secutus sum eum;' nisi quia constat hæc Matthæum non scripsisse sed alium nescio quem sub ejus nomine*<sup>12</sup>. A man capable of such an argument must have been ignorant not only of the Greek writers, the knowledge of which could not have been expected from Faustus, but even of



the Commentaries of Cæsar. And were it thought improbable that so heavy a charge could be laid with justice on the side of his knowledge, it would fall with double weight on the side of his honesty, and induce us to suppose that preferring the arts of sophistry to the plainness of truth he maintained opinions which he believed to be false.

4. His other arguments are not built on historical ground, but founded merely on such principles as those, on which he maintains that the doctrine attributed to St. Paul 'that all meats are clean,' could never have been delivered by the apostle himself, for which he chuses to assign the following reasons. 'The doctrine is false in itself, inconsistent with the precepts of Christ, and a manifest contradiction of the law of Moses, whose authority is acknowledged by the orthodox themselves.' His own words on 1 Tim. iv. 1. are as follows. *Nunquam plane tibi ego hæc ab apostolo dicta esse consenserim, nisi antea confitearis ipse Moysen et prophetas doctrinas attulisse dæmoniorum, &c.*<sup>a</sup> In short he uses dogmatical arguments in a question historical and critical relating to the antiquity of the New Testament, which alone is sufficient to overthrow the whole of his reasoning.

5. Such were the maxims adopted by a sect in other respects not void of sense and sagacity, but whose usual practice it was to reject all principles that did not correspond with their philosophy<sup>b</sup>, a philosophy not founded on the evidence of reason, but containing a collection of antient tenets delivered down to them by oral tradition. Now as they had really a high opinion of Christ<sup>c</sup> and his apostles, they thought proper in respect to the New Testament to make the following distinction. "Either these writings harmonize with our philosophy, or admit at least of such an explanation<sup>d</sup> as corresponds with our general principles, in which case they proceed from Christ and his apostles, and give additional weight to the truth of our doctrines, or they contradict our philosophy, in which instance

<sup>a</sup> Lib. XXX. c. i.

<sup>b</sup> For instance John viii. 44. they explained ο πατηρ αυτου by pater diaboli<sup>e</sup>.



instance they cease to have the force of evidence, and could not have been taught, or written by Christ, and his disciples." As examples of the latter kind were too numerous to be explained on the principles of interpolation; there remained no other resource than boldly to pronounce the whole to be spurious. This then was their refuge, though they allowed the compilers of the forgery to have interspersed in their collection various maxims and precepts, of which they admitted the truth and utility. But it were more rational to deny at once the authority of Christ, than to adopt so ill-grounded a distinction.

6. To the objections of Faustus, Augustin gives the following answer<sup>16</sup>, 'For the same reasons for which the writings of Hippocrates, and other Greek or Roman authors are maintained to be genuine, we conclude the books of the New Testament to have been written by those to whom they are ascribed.' To which reply he might have added, 'as the time of the apostles is less far removed from the present, our evidence is so much the greater.' The other fathers who lived in the age of the Manichæans, particularly Jerom a contemporary of Faustus, have scarcely condescended to mention his name. He appears to have made the same impression as Harduin, with his pretended forgery of classic writers in the ages of monkish barbarism, to whose arguments a commentator on Horace would hardly deign to reply. The decisive and peremptory 'Constat' therefore of Faustus is not to be understood as if historical arguments could be urged against the antiquity of the New Testament, but is simply grounded on the arguments delivered above, which induced the Manichæans of Africa to believe it a forgery.

The observations, which have hitherto been made, have a two-fold influence on our present inquiry.

1. It is certain that the New Testament existed at the time of this controversy, since to criticise, and pronounce a book to be spurious implies at least its existence. Faustus therefore will serve as an irreproachable witness against those

those who pretend it is a forged production of the fifth century.

2. Manes read and quoted<sup>17</sup> from the writings of the New Testament; yet he was ignorant of Greek, and acquainted with no other learned language than Syriac. The New Testament existed therefore in that early period not only in the Greek original but likewise in the Syriac translation, which was used by the Christians of Persia. This is a matter of considerable importance on the question of the antiquity of the New Testament. Besides, the Syriac translation is still more antient than the age of Manes, as will be shewn in its proper place.

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### S E C T. III.

*The New Testament is proved to be genuine on the same grounds, as the works of profane Authors.*

**EUSEBIUS**<sup>p</sup> divides the books of the New Testament into the three following classes<sup>1</sup>:

1. Ομολογμενα, i.e. Books of undoubted authority, and universally received in the church as genuine. Under this class he reckons the four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, all the epistles of Paul, the first epistle of Peter, and the first epistle of John. To which, says he, might be added the Revelation of John, which others rank under the third class. It belongs therefore properly to the second class, which contains the books whose authority is maintained by some and denied by others. It seems likewise that he considers the epistle to the Hebrews as belonging to this class, notwithstanding so much has been disputed whether St. Paul be the author or not. At all events he is justified in so doing, since the name of Paul is not mentioned in the superscription, the epistle therefore would not be spurious, were it written by another hand: and being universally allowed to be a production of the apostolic age, it deserves in this respect the name

<sup>p</sup> Hist. Eccles. Lib. iii. c. xxv.

name which Eusebius has given it. But whenever in the course of this Introduction I speak of those writings which have been universally received by the Church, I mean not to be understood either of the Revelation of St. John, which properly belongs to the second class, or of the epistle to the Hebrews, since it would be always necessary to add this explanation 'universally admitted to be antient, though its author is uncertain.'

2. *Ἀντιλεγόμενα, γνῶριμα δ' ἐν ὁμῶς τοῖς πολλοῖς*, doubtful, but acknowledged by the most to be genuine<sup>2</sup>. To this class he reckons, as he himself expresses it, "the epistles ascribed to James and Jude, the second of Peter, with the second and third of John, whether they were written by the Evangelist, or another person of the same name<sup>3</sup>." He is of opinion that they may be received as genuine productions of the apostolic age, even if they were not written by the Evangelist.

3. *Νόθα*, spurious. In this class he ranks among other writings "The History of Paul, The Shepherd, The Revelation of Peter, The Epistle of Barnabas, The Doctrines of the Apostles, and perhaps likewise the Revelation of John," &c.

Our present inquiry will be confined to the Homologoumena, not in respect to each book in particular, a matter belonging to the second part of this work, but in respect to these writings in general<sup>4</sup>. These Homologoumena we receive as the genuine works of Matthew, Mark, Luke, John and Paul, for the same reasons as we believe the writings to be genuine, which are ascribed to Thucydides, Xenophon, Polybius, Cicero, Cæsar, Livy, &c. namely, because they have been received as such without contradiction from the earliest ages, when it was easy to obtain the best information, and because they contain nothing which excites the smallest suspicion of the contrary. In fact this argument when applied to the sacred writings is much stronger, than when applied to the greatest part of profane writers, since the testimonies alledged to support the authenticity of the New Testament come much nearer the times, in which its authors lived,

lived, than those adduced in favour of many Greek and Roman classics, whose authority was never doubted. And these were read originally only by a single nation, and in a single corner of the world, while the New Testament was read, and received as genuine in three quarters of the globe, by its adversaries as well as by its friends, in countries the most remote, and most different from each other in language and manners, acknowledged in every Christian community as a work of the Apostles and Evangelists, not only by the orthodox Christians, but also by those, who dissented from the established rule of faith, with this only difference that the latter, at the same time that they acknowledged the writings in general to be genuine, contended that certain passages were corrupted: till a sect arose in the eastern part of Asia, a sect ignorant of the Grecian literature and language, which thought proper to pronounce the New Testament to be spurious, because the precepts of the Gospel contradicted the tenets of their philosophy. But if these writings were forged in the period that elapsed between the death of the Apostles, and the earliest evidence for their authenticity, how was it possible to introduce them at once into the various Christian communities, whose connexion was intercepted by distance of place, and difference of language? And those disciples of the Apostles which were still alive would surely not have failed to detect and confute so glaring an imposture.

It is generally thought sufficient to shew the writings of a classic author to be genuine, if some one among the antients has merely spoken of the work, as Cicero, Hirtius, and Suetonius have done of Cæsar's descriptions of his own campaigns, without quoting passages from the book itself. But it may be objected, 'It is possible indeed that Cæsar may have written such a treatise, but how can we be certain that the Commentaries which we ascribe to him as their author were the same which Cicero, Hirtius and Suetonius read? Is it credible that Cæsar was the author of an history in which so frequent remarks are interspersed to the disparagement of the Germans, remarks which

which excite even a suspicion of their timidity, when it is said in the very beginning of the work that the Gauls themselves acknowledged the Germans to be their superiors in bravery? Can suspicions like these proceed from a general who was in a great measure indebted to his German auxiliaries for the victory of Pharsalia, a circumstance again omitted to be mentioned in the *Bellum Civile*? Are these the Commentaries so commended by Cicero and Hirtius, and to which the latter applied the observation: *præcepta, non præbita facultas scriptoribus videtur*? Could these Commentaries have existed in the days of Florus, who likewise describes the battle of Pharsalia, and estimates the number in both armies at three hundred thousand, besides the auxiliaries, when the number given in the Commentaries is so considerably inferior? Could Florus have been better acquainted with the state of the army than Cæsar, and would he have neglected to derive his intelligence from the best possible accounts, had such accounts at that time existed?

Objections like these to the authenticity of Cæsar would be answered by every critic in classical literature not with a serious reply, but with a smile of contempt. Yet weak and trivial as these arguments may appear, they are stronger than such as can with justice be applied to the writings of the New Testament, which is not only mentioned by the earliest fathers as being written by those Evangelists and Apostles, to whom we ascribe them, but quoted and explained at such considerable length, as leaves no possibility of a doubt, that the writings, to which they allude, are the very same with those, which have been transmitted to us under that title.

In fact the objections, which have hitherto been made, have not even the appearance of probability, and when reduced to plain and simple terms, amount only to this single question, Is it not possible that the New Testament is a forgery? A conclusion therefore is drawn *à posse ad esse*, a conclusion which would banish from the world many of the valued productions of antiquity.

Since then the adversaries of the Christian Religion have

have advanced all that zeal, penetration, and learning can afford to prove the New Testament to be spurious, without being able to produce a solid argument in its disavow, it would not be unreasonable to conclude against the possibility of a real objection, and that therefore these writings are genuine. But instead of immediately drawing this inference from these premises alone, I will arrange under their several heads the reasons which may induce a critic to suspect a work to be spurious.

1. When doubts have been made from its first appearance in the world, whether it proceeded from the author to whom it is ascribed.

2. When the immediate friends of the pretended author who were able to decide upon the subject have denied it to be his production.

3. When a long series of years has elapsed after his death, in which the book was unknown, and in which it must unavoidably have been mentioned and quoted, had it really existed.

4. When the style is different from that of his other writings, or, in case no other remain, different from that which might reasonably be expected.

5. When events are recorded which happened later than the time of the pretended author.

6. When opinions are advanced which contradict those he is known to maintain in his other writings. Though this latter argument alone leads to no positive conclusion, since every man is liable to change his opinion, or through forgetfulness to vary in the circumstances of the same relation, of which Josephus in his *Antiquities* and *War of the Jews*, affords a striking example.

Now of all these various grounds for denying a work to be genuine, not one can be applied with justice to the New Testament. It is true that Faustus, (whose name I must again introduce, since modern sceptics have objected, without assigning reasons for their doubts,) contends that passages may be found in the same Gospel, or the same Epistle, which are a contradiction to each other. But this objection is different from that alledged in the

last of the above-mentioned classes, and cannot be applied in the present instance. To avoid confusion we must make the following distinction. If a work whose authenticity is questioned, contains principles diametrically opposite to those which are maintained in the indisputable writings of the author, to whom the work in question is ascribed, it may justly be considered as spurious. But no such inference can be drawn from seeming, or even real contradictions in one and the same work, the criterion being in that case wanting which alone can determine the matter in dispute. These premises decide nothing with respect to the author's name, and the only conclusion to be made is, either that the author was not sufficiently precise, or that the passages alledged are either corrupted, or falsely understood.

It has likewise been objected that not only the same Evangelist contradicts himself, but that the different Evangelists often contradict each other. Were the instances adduced in support of this assertion more happily selected than they really are, or did they even amount to a demonstration, it would not follow that the Gospels were not written by those, whose names they bear, but only that the authors were not infallible. Whoever studies with accuracy any part whatsoever of antient or modern history, will frequently find not only apparent but real contradictions, yet no one would therefore conclude the writings of such historians as Livy, Josephus, or Tacitus to be spurious.

There are several passages in the New Testament which differ from the accounts of Josephus, a writer who throws so much light on the evangelic history<sup>1</sup>, that he deserves more diligently to be studied. Now, supposing these difficulties were not to be removed by any critical conjecture, that neither the beginning of the second chapter of St. Luke were to be reconciled with the relation of Josephus or Tacitus, nor St. Luke's account of Theudas<sup>2</sup> with that of the former of these historians, the question would still remain to be determined, which author were  
in

<sup>1</sup> Acts v. 36.



in the right: and admitting it to be decided in favour of Josephus, and that St. Luke committed a chronological mistake in ascribing a wrong date to the rebellion of Theudas, it would militate not against the authenticity of the Acts of the Apostles, but only against the inspiration of the author. The case would be entirely different, could passages be found in the Acts of the Apostles, in which events were recorded that happened later than the death of the author, such, for instance, as an account of the false Messiah Barcochab<sup>6</sup>, in the time of the emperor Hadrian, whence we might reasonably conclude the book to have been written in a subsequent period. But nothing of this nature can be produced, which militates either against the Acts of the Apostles, or any other part of the New Testament. In short, to recapitulate the six heads abovementioned. 1. It cannot be shewn that any one doubted of its authenticity in the period in which it first appeared. 2. No antient accounts are on record, whence we may conclude it to be spurious. 3. No considerable period elapsed after the death of the Apostles, in which the New Testament was unknown, but on the contrary it is mentioned by their very contemporaries, and the accounts of it in the second century are still more numerous. 4. No argument can be brought in its disfavour from the nature of the style, it being exactly such as might be expected from the Apostles, not Attic but Jewish Greek. 5. No facts are recorded, which happened after their death. 6. No doctrines are maintained, which contradict the known tenets of the authors, since beside the New Testament, no writings of the Apostles exist. But, to the honour of the New Testament be it spoken, it contains numerous contradictions to the tenets and doctrines of the fathers in the second and third century, whose morality is different from that of the Gospel, which recommends fortitude and submission to unavoidable evils, but not that enthusiastic ardour for martyrdom, for which those centuries are distinguished<sup>7</sup>; and alludes to ceremonies which in the following ages were either in disuse  
or



or totally unknown<sup>r</sup>, all which circumstances infallibly demonstrate that the New Testament is not a production of either of those centuries.

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#### S E C T. IV.

*Positive grounds for the authenticity of the New Testament<sup>r</sup>.*

**I**T appears from what has hitherto been said, that there is not the smallest reason to doubt of the authenticity of these writings, and that they are as certainly genuine, as the most indisputable works of the Greeks and Romans. One might suppose that this were sufficiently satisfactory for every man, who had not an uncommon inclination to Scepticism. But as the truth of the Christian religion is grounded upon this important article, and the New Testament contains an account of miracles performed, and prophecies afterwards fulfilled, both of which demand a higher degree of evidence than usual events, and doubts therefore might arise, whether the New Testament were not written after the fulfilling of the prophecies, it is no longer a matter of curious speculation, but a conscientious and rational inquiry, if, not satisfied with refuting the arguments in its disfavour, we seek likewise the positive grounds of its authenticity. These positive grounds may be arranged under the three following heads.

1. The impossibility of a forgery, arising from the nature of the thing itself.
2. The antient Christian, Jewish, and Heathen Testimonies in its favour.
3. Its own internal evidence.

These shall be severally considered in the remaining sections of this chapter.

<sup>r</sup> For instance, Baptism for the Dead<sup>r</sup>, 1 Cor. xv. 29. and other customs mentioned Ch. xi. which in those centuries were either obsolete, or so seldom used, that perhaps many who are well acquainted with ecclesiastical history can recollect no example.

## S E C T. V.

*Impossibility of a forgery arising from the nature of the thing itself.*

**I**T has been mentioned in the first chapter of this work that St. Peter has quoted the epistles of St. Paul, and the reason has been given why such quotations are so seldom to be found in the New Testament, viz. because they were too recent, at that time, to be generally known; not because the Apostles were unacquainted with each other's writings. Now of these Apostles St. John lived later than the death of Domitian, and no impostor during his life could be so absurd as to invent and distribute writings under his name, and that of the other Apostles; and admitting even so absurd an attempt, they could never have been received without contradiction in all the Christian communities of the three several quarters of the globe. It is equally impossible that they could have been forged between his death, and the middle of the second century, since there lived during that period immediate disciples of St. John, and of the other Apostles. And from the middle of the second throughout all the following centuries, the accounts are too numerous to admit the supposition of a later forgery.

## S E C T. VI.

*Testimonies of the fathers, and other Christian writers of the first centuries.*

**I**N our enquiry into the early origin of these writings, it is natural to direct our first attention to the persons who read and studied them; and we must here be guided by the evidence of the fathers of the first centuries; or, if their works be lost, by the fragments collected, and preserved by the accurate Eusebius. The Apostolic fathers, as they are called, Ignatius and Polycarp, who speak  
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of particular books of the New Testament, deserve especially to be mentioned, since it is manifest from their writings, that so early as the first century the New Testament not only existed, but was received as genuine. If the adversaries of the Christian religion contend that the works of these fathers likewise are a forgery<sup>2</sup>, we can produce so early as the beginning of the second century the evidence of Papias<sup>3</sup>, who knew the daughters of Philip mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, and without doubt therefore a number of the immediate disciples of the Apostles themselves; and after Papias the authority of Justin Martyr<sup>4</sup>, who wrote so early as the hundred and thirty-third year of the Christian æra. And from this period is the number of those, who have not only quoted, but commented on the New Testament, so very considerable, that no Sceptic can have recourse to the desperate refuge of supposing, either that all these writings are a forgery, or that the New Testament was not considered in those ages as antient and genuine. In the third century the name of Origen deserves particularly to be remembered, a writer of profound erudition, and critical judgment, and acquainted with numberless authors of antiquity, which in our days are totally unknown. But to introduce the long series of fathers, who successively appear as evidence for the New Testament, and to quote the various passages in support of its authenticity would be not only too prolix for the present undertaking, but even useless after the learned labours of Lardner<sup>5</sup>, to whose works, and those of Less<sup>6</sup>, I refer my readers for further information; and will employ the remaining part of this section in endeavouring to clear up a difficulty, which has perplexed the critics in theological literature.

It has been asked, if the books of the New Testament were really written by the persons, to whom they are ascribed, what can be the reasons, that the Apostles so seldom allude to the writings of each other, and that their writings again are so seldom mentioned and quoted by the Apostolic fathers. The former of these questions has been answered in the first chapter, and with respect

to the latter it may be remarked that the first century was not the age of quotation even among profane writers<sup>7</sup>, being the very reverse of the present, in which it has been fashionable to fill whole pages with passages from other authors. And if the Old Testament, which was read by the Jews and Christians from their childhood, made an exception to that rule, yet this exception cannot be applied to the New Testament, of which the several parts were written at different periods, and were probably not collected into a volume before the end of the first century. It is therefore no objection to the New Testament, if it is so seldom cited by the Apostolic fathers; and even could any one be produced, who had not made a single reference to these writings, it would prove as little against their authenticity, as St. Paul's never having quoted the epistles of St. Peter, or the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke. On the contrary, this very circumstance affords a strong presumption that the writings of these fathers themselves are genuine, and that they were composed by contemporaries of the Apostles, at a time when the several books of the New Testament were not universally known, nor become like the Old Testament a part of Christian education. This is an observation which has not escaped those, who have attempted in later ages to introduce their own productions under the names of the early Christians, as appears from the spurious homilies of Clemens Romanus, and the disputation, which is there related between St. Peter, and Simon the Magician.

But the omission of a single quotation in the genuine epistle, as it is called, of Clemens Romanus to the Corinthians is not only striking, but can excite a stronger suspicion against the antiquity of the New Testament, than the united arguments of its professed enemies. His chief object in this epistle is to convince the Corinthians of the Resurrection of the dead; and he quotes to that purpose a variety of passages from the Old Testament, all of which excepting Job xix. 25—27. prove in fact nothing; and after reading this epistle one is rather inclined to  
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doubt,

doubt, than believe a doctrine so badly supported. Now the question naturally arises, how is it possible, if the first epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians at that time really existed, that Clement could neglect to mention the fifteenth chapter, in which the very doctrine, which he wished to demonstrate, was not only supported by the best arguments, but maintained by the authority of a divine apostle?

Dr. Lefs, who was the first person that discovered this difficulty, has likewise explained it in the following manner, viz. he is of opinion that the object of Clement was rather to shew the harmony between the Old and New Testament on the subject of the resurrection of the dead, than to demonstrate a doctrine which he presupposed to be true; that a passage is really to be found in the forty-seventh chapter\* in which he recommends the first epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, and as the contents of this epistle were well known to the Corinthians, he thinks it sufficient to quote the Old Testament, without introducing particular passages from the New. This explanation may serve to remove the difficulty on the supposition that this epistle of Clement be genuine. But I am rather inclined to entertain the same sentiments of this epistle, as the learned entertain in general of the other works attributed to this antient father†. The name of Clement seems well adapted to recommend a fiction, and the author appears to betray the imposture by a too studied affectation of the mode of writing in the first century.

Having

\* Αναλαβετε την επιστολην του μακαριου Παυλου του Αποστολου. Τι πρωτον υμιν εν αρχη του ευαγγελιου γράψειν; επ' αληθειας αυτουματικως επεγειλεν υμιν περι αυτου τε, και Κηθα τε και Απολλων.

† Wetstein discovered a Syriac translation of two epistles of Clement of Rome, which he believed not only to be genuine but even canonical, and published them under the following title: *Dux epistolæ Clementis Romani ex codice manuscripto N. T. Syriaci nunc primum exutæ: edidit Jo. Jac. Wetstenius, Lugd. Bat. 1775.* In answer to which Lardner wrote a Dissertation on the two epistles ascribed to Clement of Rome, lately published by Mr. Wetstein, London, 1753. See also *Two letters from Venema to Wesseling and Hemsterhuis, 1754* &c.

HAVING observed it to be fashionable in those days to avoid quotations, he has carried the rule so far as to transgress the bounds of probability.

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S E C T. VII.

*Testimonies of the Heretics of the first centuries.*

THE evidence to be derived from the heretical writers of the first centuries is still more important in proving the New Testament to be genuine, than even that of the orthodox fathers. It was the practice of the former not only to falsify, or wrongly explain particular passages, but to erase such, as were not to be reconciled with their own private tenets. Now this very circumstance is a positive proof, that they considered the New Testament, with exception to these single passages, to be a genuine work of the Apostles. They might deny an apostle to be an infallible teacher, and banish therefore his writings from the sacred canon, but they no where contend that the apostle is not the author. This confession from the mouth of an adversary is the clearest evidence that can be given, and as it was made in a period, and under circumstances, when, had objections been possible, they would infallibly have been produced, it serves as an irresistible argument that the New Testament is a genuine work of the Apostles.

The testimonies of this kind, which afford such positive evidence, have not been collected in the same manner, as those of the orthodox fathers. Lardner, who has made so ample a collection of the former in his *Credibility of the Gospel History*, has almost entirely neglected the latter, not because they were unknown to him, but because he regarded them as unfavourable to the Christian cause: not considering that for that very reason their evidence is the safest that can be produced. They may deny as often as they please the divine mission of the Apostles, or the authenticity of particular passages, since  
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by so doing they imply the authenticity of the work in general. Whoever maintains at present that 1 John v. 7. was not written by the Apostle, presupposes the remainder of the epistle to be genuine.

A collection of this nature would swell this chapter to a size disproportionate to the rest of the work, and render necessary disquisitions, which would be improper in a general introduction to the New Testament. I wish that some one among the learned, who is better qualified than myself, would attempt the collection, which would be a valuable supplement to the works of Lardner. At present I will mention only a couple of examples, which may serve as a specimen of the rest.

Cerinthus<sup>2</sup>, a contemporary of St. John, as we are informed by the antient historians, maintained the necessity of circumcision, and the observation of the Mosaic law; and because St. Paul delivered in his epistles a contrary doctrine, Cerinthus with the rest of his sect denied him to be a divine apostle. Τον δε Παυλον αθετυσι δια το μη πειθισθαι τη περιτομη. Αλλα και εκβαλλουσιν αυτον δια το ειρηκεναι, οσοι εν νομω δικαιοσθε της χαριτος εξιπισατε, και οτι εαν περιτεμνησθε, Χριστος υμας εκ ωφελησει. Epiphanius adv. Hæreses, xxviii. 5.<sup>3</sup> It follows therefore, 1st, that the epistles of St. Paul existed in the first century, and those too the very same which we have at present, because they are not only mentioned but quoted<sup>4</sup>. 2dly, That Cerinthus and his followers, instead of denying these epistles to have been written by St. Paul, allow them to be a genuine work of that apostle, since they contend for that very reason, that he was a teacher of falsehood. The Gospel of St. Matthew on the contrary was approved by the Cerinthians, because it contained nothing contrary to their tenets<sup>5</sup>. This Gospel therefore existed in the first century, and was acknowledged to have been written by St. Matthew.

The Ebionites, a Christian sect of Jewish original, who lived in the land of Basan and its neighbourhood, in Pella, Cocaba, Astaroth, and Carnaim, adopted as their principal rule of faith the Gospel of St. Matthew<sup>6</sup>,  
though



though they corrupted it by various alterations and additions; but they rejected the authority of St. Paul, because his epistles contradicted the Levitical law, that is, they believed him to be the author of these epistles, and held him for that reason to be a false apostle. I will quote the words of Epiphanius, who being a native of Palestine, and acquainted with the Hebrew language, was able to obtain the best information concerning the Nazarenes and Ebionites. He says, "they had the Acts of the Apostles, with various additions, which go so far as to accuse St. Paul of the artifices of a false Apostle. They say that St. Paul has himself confessed, that he was born at Tarsus, and conclude therefore that he was by birth a Greek, appealing to his own words, I am a native of Tarsus, a citizen of no mean city". They pretend that his father and mother were Greeks, that he came to Jerusalem, where he fell in love with the daughter of the High Priest, and that, in order to marry her, he became a proselyte, and permitted himself to be circumcised: but as the marriage did not take place, he was highly offended, and wrote against circumcision, the sabbath, and the law". And again, § 25, "what have I not to answer to their blasphemies against St. Paul, that they take him for a Grecian and a Heathen, who afterwards became a proselyte, &c." Eusebius\* gives the same description of the Ebionites, and relates 'that they rejected all his epistles, and called him an apostate, because he departed from the Levitical law.' If this sect which existed so early, being originally composed of Christians, who had fled from Jerusalem to Pella, notwithstanding the inconveniences, which they must have felt from the authenticity of St. Paul's epistles, still acknowledged him to be the author<sup>7</sup>, there can be no doubt that he was considered as such from the very earliest ages.

Of the heretics, who prove the authenticity of the New Testament by the circumstance of their erasing and altering the text in order to make it harmonize with their

\* Acts xxi. 39.

† Epiphan. Harres. xxx. § 16.

‡ Hist. Eccl. Lib. III. c. xxvii.



their own doctrines, we may produce Marcion<sup>8</sup> as an instance. He lived in the beginning of the second century, and, after having discharged during several years the office of priest, he quitted the established church, to publish his heretical tenets so early as the year 136<sup>7</sup>. He lived therefore in an age, when he could easily have discovered if the writings of the New Testament had been forged after the death of the Apostles. And, as he thought himself grossly insulted by the orthodox party, he could not be wanting in inclination to make a discovery, which would have afforded him the most ample means of revenge. He had likewise the experience derived from an acquaintance with foreign countries, having travelled from his birth-place Sinope to Rome, where he afterwards resided, in order to obtain a repeal of the excommunication, which had been denounced against him by his native church. But in the vast extent of country, which lies between Sinope and Rome, he was unable to discover the smallest trace of the New Testament's being a forgery. He was obliged therefore, in order to answer his purposes, to have recourse to other means. The Gospel of St. Matthew, the Epistle to the Hebrews, with those of St. Peter and St. James, as well as the Old Testament in general, he said were writings not for Christians, but for Jews. Of the Gospel of St. Luke, and the ten epistles of St. Paul, viz. to the Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Colossians, Philippians, Thessalonians and Philemon, he undertook a very severe critical recension, and published for the use of his disciples a new edition of these books, in which many passages considerably differed from the generally received one. Among these passages, which Epiphanius has collected in the eleventh section of his forty-second heresy, are real instances of what modern critics call *variæ lectiones*<sup>9</sup>, of which several have been received as genuine, and which were probably occasioned by the manuscripts of Marcion differing in various readings from those of Epiphanius. Had he

<sup>7</sup> In determining the date I have been directed by Walch's History of the Heretics, Vol. I. p. 502.

he rested here, he would have remained irreproachable, but as this was not sufficient to answer his purpose, he spared not a single text, that contradicted his own opinions<sup>10</sup>.

The inference to be deduced from what has been here advanced is this, That between the years 126 and 160 in all the countries, which lay between Sinope and Rome, no accounts could be found that the books of the New Testament were spurious, and newly imposed on the world after the decease of the Apostles, who died in the period that elapsed between the years 69 and 100. We must not here forget to remark that, among the books acknowledged by Marcion to be genuine, are those very epistles of St. Paul, which afford, as we have shewn in the first section of this chapter, the strongest demonstration of the truth of our religion.

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## S E C T. VIII.

### *Jewish and Heathen testimonies for the authenticity of the New Testament.*

**T**HE Jewish and Heathen Testimonies to the authenticity of the New Testament are equally important with those, which have been last mentioned, and Lardner has made a very large collection of them in a book<sup>2</sup> written for that purpose. Very early Heathen writers can be produced, who considered it as a work of the Apostles and Evangelists, and Chrysostom remarks very justly in his sixth Homily to the first epistle to the Corinthians<sup>3</sup>, that Celsus and Porphyry, two enemies of the Christian religion, are powerful witnesses for the antiquity of the New Testament, since they could not have argued against the tenets of the Gospel, had it not existed in

<sup>2</sup> Large collection of antient Jewish and Heathen Testimonies to the Truth of the Christian Religion, 1764—1767, 4 Vol. 4<sup>to</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Tom. X. p. 47.

in that early period. His words are as follows, *Ικαναί  
δε και οι καθ' ημών ειρηκοτες την αρχαιοτητα μαρτυρησαι των  
βιβλίων οι περι Κελσον, και τον Βατανεωτην τον μετ' εκεινον.  
Ου γαρ δη τοις μετ' αυτας συντεθεισιν αψτελεγον.*

I will not appeal to the evidence of Lucian<sup>b</sup>, since, though he speaks of the writings of the Christians, which the Impostor Peregrinus expounds to them, he mentions none of these writings by name; and since the Christians, with whom Lucian was acquainted, made a distinction between clean and unclean meats, for a violation of which law they quitted the society of Peregrinus<sup>c</sup>, and as the Nazarenes frequented the neighbourhood of Lucian's residence, he had probably heard only of the Old Testament and the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew, which were adopted by the Nazarenes<sup>d</sup>, as the only rule of faith. But it is worthy of remark that sacred writings of the Christians were known to an heathen author so early as the middle of the second century, were it only the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew.

His contemporary Celsus, who wrote against the Christians in the latter half of the second century, not only mentions by name, but quotes passages from the books of the New Testament, so that it is certain they were the same as we have at present. But instead of swelling this introduction with extracts from Celsus<sup>e</sup>, I refer my readers to the valuable works of Lardner<sup>f</sup>. The following observation however deserves attention. Celsus reproaches the Christians with having frequently three or four different readings for the same text, or, as he expresses it, that they had altered the Gospel three or four different times, and, when pressed by their adversaries, recurred to that reading, which best suited their purpose.

<sup>b</sup> Lucianus de morte Peregrini, § 11, και των βιβλίων τας μιν εξηγουτο και δισαφει, and § 12, ιτα διπνα ποικιλα εισικομιζετο, και λοχη ιεροι αυτων ειλεγοντο, but this last passage seems rather to allude to the words of consecration in the sacrament.

<sup>c</sup> § 16.

<sup>d</sup> Epiphanius, Hæres. xxix. c. 7.

<sup>e</sup> Jewish and Heathen Testimonies, Vol. II. Ch. xviii. sect. 3.

pose<sup>f</sup>. Origen answers very properly that he knew of no alterations except such as were made by the Gnostics, Marcionites, Valentinians, and others, who dissented from the established church<sup>g</sup>. In this case the question belongs to the foregoing section, and is an additional confirmation from the mouth of an adversary that the Gnostics (for to those only is applicable what Celsus often says of the Christians) acknowledged the books of the New Testament to have been written by the Apostles, which, it is true, they altered in particular texts, that it might the better correspond with their own tenets. On the other hand, it is possible that the alterations, with which Celsus reproaches the Christians, were nothing else than various readings, such for instance as Mark i. 2. where the reading in several manuscripts is *ἐν Ἡσαία τῷ προφῆτῃ*, in which instance a Christian might reply to Celsus, 'we find in other manuscripts *ἐν τοῖς προφῆταις*.' From this hypothesis it follows that the New Testament had existed a considerable time, and been very frequently transcribed, since otherwise three or four different readings would hardly have been found to the same text.

The testimony of Porphyry is still more important, than that of Celsus. He lived indeed an hundred years later than the last mentioned evidence, but this deficiency in point of time is abundantly supplied by his profound learning, and severely critical examination of the sacred writings. He was born in the year 233, of Tyrian origin, and called in his native language Malcho<sup>h</sup>: he is also styled the Batanean from Basan<sup>i</sup> the country of his

<sup>f</sup> Origenes contra Celsum, Lib. II. c. 27. See also Lardner's Jewish and Heathen Testimonies, Vol. II. p. 275.

<sup>g</sup> Not Meleck, as Lardner has written it by mistake, which is Hebrew, not Syriac the language of Porphyry. It were better to retain the Greek *Μαλχος*, which comes much nearer to the original.

<sup>h</sup> He might have been of Tyrian origin though born in the country of Basan, in which Tyrian colonies were settled. It is generally supposed that Batanea is a city, and the opinion is grounded on a passage in Stephanus de Urbibus, p. 156. *Βατανναι, συνοικία Συρίας*, but I would rather translate *συνοικία*, a district containing several cities, than understand

his birth. Unfortunately for the present age, the mistaken zeal of the Christian Emperors has banished from the world a set of writings<sup>3</sup>, which could essentially serve the cause of Christianity, and every real friend of our religion would gladly give the works of a pious father to rescue those of Porphyry from the flames<sup>4</sup>. His objections to particular passages of the New Testament have been briefly collected by Mill in his *Prolegomena*<sup>1</sup>, and more at length by Lardner in his *Jewish and Heathen Testimonies*<sup>2</sup>, who remarks that even in the few fragments that remain there is mention made of the Gospels, of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. John, the Acts of the Apostles, and the epistle to the Galatians. What then might we not conclude, were the works of Porphyry entire, especially as Jerom speaks of numberless passages which were the objects of his criticism. Now it appears from the very objections that the books, to which Porphyry alludes, are the same which we possess at present, and that it never occurred to him to deny that they were written by the Apostles and Evangelists, whom, as authors of these writings, he pronounces illiterate, and unable to quote properly even the Old Testament<sup>1</sup>: but to St. Paul he lays a charge of a different nature.

It is universally allowed that Porphyry is the most sensible, as well as most severe adversary of the Christian religion, that antiquity can produce. He was versed not only in political, but philosophical history, as appears from his *Lives of the philosophers*: and we are indebted to

understand it of a single town. The circumstance that Basan was the country either of Porphyry's birth, or residence, we shall find of importance.

<sup>1</sup> Sect. 702, 703<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. III. Ch. xxxvii. sect. 7<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> An instance of this kind is the objection which he made to Matt. xiii. 35, and Mark i. 27, where he says the Evangelists pretend to have quoted Isaiah, when in fact they have quoted Asaph or Malachi. Now it is worthy of remark in our present inquiry, that Porphyry lays this charge to the Evangelists, as it is improbable that he would have been guilty himself of the fault which he ascribes to St. Matthew and St. Mark, and quote from their writings, unless he had believed them to be the authors.

to him for some of the best historical accounts for explaining the prophecies of Daniel, as may be gathered from the extracts, which are preserved in the commentary of Jerom upon that subject: the explanations of Porphyry are for the most part superior to those of the learned father; his accurate and extensive knowledge of history enabled him to apply those passages to Antiochus Epiphanes, where Jerom could discover nothing but an account of Antichrist; and if the twelfth book of the writings of Porphyry were now remaining, we should probably find it to be the best commentary on the book of Daniel. His acquaintance with the Christians was not confined to a single country, but he had conversed with them in Tyre, in Sicily, and in Rome: his residence in Bafan afforded him the best opportunity of a strict intercourse with the Nazarenes, who adopted only the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew; and his thirst for philosophical inquiry must have induced him to examine the cause of their rejecting the other writings of the New Testament, whether it was that they considered them as spurious, or that, like the Ebionites, they regarded them as a genuine work of the Apostles, though not divinely inspired. Enabled by his birth to study the Syriac as well as the Greek authors, he was of all the adversaries to the Christian religion the best qualified for inquiring into the authenticity of the sacred writings. He possessed therefore every advantage which natural abilities, or political situation could afford, to discover whether the New Testament was a genuine work of the Apostles and Evangelists, or whether it was imposed upon the world after the decease of its pretended authors. But no trace of this suspicion is any where to be found, nor did it ever occur to Porphyry to suppose that it was spurious.

The prophecy of Daniel he made no scruple to pronounce a forgery, and written after the time of Antiochus Epiphanes: his critical penetration enabled him to discover the perfect coincidence between the predictions and the events, and denying divine inspiration he found no other means of solving the problem. In support of  
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this hypothesis he uses an argument which is an equal proof of his learning and sagacity, though his objection does not affect the authority of the prophet; viz. from a Greek Paronomasia which he discovered in the history of Daniel and Susanna<sup>m</sup>, he concludes the book to have been written originally in Greek, and afterwards translated into Hebrew<sup>n</sup>. Is it credible then that so sagacious an enquirer could have failed to have discovered a forgery with respect to the New Testament, had a forgery existed: a discovery which would have given him the completest triumph by striking at once a mortal blow on the religion, which he attempted to destroy?

To the evidence of Porphyry might be added that of the Emperor Julian, but as he lived an hundred years later, and was also inferior to Porphyry in his critical inquiries, I shall make no further observation upon this subject, but refer my readers to the works of Lardner<sup>a</sup>.

## S E C T, IX.

### *Antient Versions.*

**A**NOTHER important evidence for the antiquity of the New Testament are the antient versions, of which some were made so early as the first century, viz. a Syriac, and several Latin versions, which latter abounding in Hebraisms and Syriacisms even in a greater degree, than the original, were manifestly made by native Jews, and therefore productions of the first century. These versions I barely mention at present, as I shall examine them more fully in their proper place. A book therefore so early and so universally read throughout the East in the Syriac, and throughout Europe and Africa in the Latin translation, must be able to lay claim to a high antiquity. To the strange and trivial hypothesis that the  
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<sup>m</sup> V. 54, 55, between *σχινο* and *σχιση*. V. 58, 59, between *ωπισ* and *ωπισαι*. See the Orient. Bibl. Vol. IV. p. 16 and 249.

<sup>a</sup> Jewish and Heathen Testimonies, Ch. xlv. Sect. 4<sup>to</sup>.



New Testament was forged in the fifth century after the conquest of Italy by the Goths, the Gothic Version of Ulphilas which was made in the preceding century may serve for a sufficient answer: but it would be a waste of time to dwell any longer in refuting such trifling objections.

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S . E C T. X.

*Internal Evidence; and first that derived from the style of the New Testament.*

THE first and principal of the internal marks of authenticity is the language of the New Testament, which is written in a style that must be striking, not only to every man accustomed to the Greek of the classic authors, but even to those who are acquainted only with the writings of the fathers. It is principally distinguished by the Hebraisms and Syriasms, with which these writings abound, a circumstance too often considered as a fault, which pious ignorance even so late as the present century has attempted to wipe away: not knowing that these very deviations from Grecian purity afford the strongest presumption in its favour. They shew it to have been written by men of Hebrew origin, a production therefore of the first century, since after the decease of the Jewish converts to Christianity we find hardly any instance of Jews who turned preachers of the Gospel; and the Christian fathers were for the most part totally ignorant of Hebrew. This distinguishing mark is to be found in all the books of the New Testament, though in different degrees, even in the epistles of St. Paul, and the Acts of the Apostles, though the former sufficiently evince that the author was master of the Greek, and the latter contains various examples not only of pure but elegant language. Nor have these idioms the appearance of art and design, being exactly such as might be expected from persons, who used a language spoken indeed where they lived, but not the dialect of their country. And if  
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the New Testament were a forgery of the second or third century, its author, the better to disguise his imposture, must have studied to imitate the style of writing, which might have been expected from the Apostles; a supposition totally incredible. For the lower order of Christians was too deficient in criticism to perceive these various shades, and too wanting in taste to execute the undertaking with success, while the learned fathers of the second and two following centuries exercised their talents in searching into the authenticity of the writings already received: and had the fathers of those ages been inclined to impose, they were mostly devoid of the means, since those, who are ignorant of Hebrew and Syriac, would hardly introduce Hebraisms and Syriacisms into their writings. The Nazarenes on the contrary, who understood Hebrew, accepted only the Gospel of St. Mathew, and must therefore remain innocent of the charge of having forged the rest of the sacred writings. The difficulty of imitating the oriental style is felt only by those, who are conversant with the eastern writers, and the modern novels, written even by men of taste and genius under the title of Oriental Tales, are as distant from the Asiatic mode of writing, as they deviate from the European. And yet if the New Testament be a forgery, the Christians of the second and third century must be supposed capable of an imitation, which cannot be distinguished from an original. On the contrary, the language of the early fathers, though not always the purest classic Greek, has no resemblance to that of the New Testament, not excepting the works of the few who had a knowledge of the Hebrew, Origenes, Epiphanius or Justin Martyr, from whom as a native of Palestine it might with some reason be expected.

Should any one reply that the same Hebraic mode of writing, which I have used as an argument in favour of the New Testament, is found likewise in a very high degree in the book of Revelation, of which it is doubted, and that with justice, whether it were written by St. John, and also in several apocryphal books, which we have  
long

long rejected from the sacred canon, I would give the following explanation. It cannot be concluded from these premises alone that the sacred books of the New Testament were written by those particular persons to whom they are ascribed, but only that they were composed either by native Jews, or by persons who by continual intercourse with that nation had insensibly adopted the Jewish style. It follows therefore from what has been said above that they were written before the year 120, a conclusion sufficient to answer our present purpose when applied to the books of undoubted authority\*.

But similar as these writings are to each other in oriental idioms, they are equally distinct and characteristic in the particular style of their respective authors. They cannot then have proceeded from the hands of a single impostor, and the supposition of their being an accidental collection of spurious writings from different authors is attended nearly with the same difficulties, as the former hypothesis. Whoever reads with attention the thirteen epistles of St. Paul (for at present I do not include the epistle to the Hebrews) must be convinced that they were all written by the same author, who has so many distinguishing marks that he is not easy to be mistaken\*. On all these thirteen epistles is impressed the character of a man well versed in the Greek language, and possessed of general erudition, who could use the finest and even severest irony, without rejecting the rules of decency, but who in consequence of his Jewish original, and his indifference with respect to style, abounded in Hebraisms and Syriasms, and sometimes borrowed from the place of his birth even the provincial expressions of Cilicia. An equal degree of similarity is to be found between the Gospel and Epistle of St. John; and the only compositions of the same author which, notwithstanding their general resemblance, betray a difference of style, are the Gospel of St. Luke and the Acts of the Apostles; his Gospel abounding with harsh and uncouth Hebraisms, while the Acts of the Apostles, though not free from

Hebraisms,

Hebraisms, are written in a language that approaches nearer to purity and classical correctness. The reason of this difference will be explained at large in the second part.

The writings of St. John and St. Paul<sup>a</sup> discover marks of an original genius, that no imitation can ever attain, which always betrays itself by the very labour exerted to cover the deception; and if we consider attentively the various qualities that compose the extraordinary character of the latter Apostle, we shall find it to be such, as no art could ever imitate. His mind overflows with sentiment, yet he never loses sight of his principal object, but hurried on by the rapidity of thought discloses frequently in the middle a conclusion to be made only at the end. To a profound knowledge of the Old Testament he joins the acuteness of philosophical wisdom, which he displays in applying and expounding the sacred writings; and his explanations are therefore sometimes so new and unexpected, that superficial observers might be tempted to suppose them erroneous. The fire of his genius, and his inattention to style, occasion frequently a twofold obscurity, he being often too concise to be understood except by those to whom he immediately wrote, and not seldom on the other hand so full of his subject, as to produce long and difficult parentheses, and a repetition of the same word even in different senses. With a talent for irony and satire he unites the most refined sensibility, and tempers the severity of his censures by expressions of tenderness and affection; nor does he ever forget in the vehemence of his zeal the rules of modesty and decorum. He is a writer in short of so singular and wonderful a composition, that it would be difficult to find a rival. That truly sensible and sagacious philosopher Locke was of the same opinion, and contended that St. Paul was without an equal<sup>b</sup>.

## S E C T. XI.

*Coincidence of the accounts delivered in the New Testament with the history of those times<sup>1</sup>.*

**W**HOEVER undertakes to forge a set of writings and ascribe them to persons who lived in a former period, exposes himself to the utmost danger of a discordancy with the history and manners of the age, to which his accounts are referred; and this danger increases in proportion, as they relate to points not mentioned in general history, but to such as belong only to a single city, sect, religion, or school. And of all books, that ever were written there is none, if the New Testament is a forgery, so liable to detection: the scene of action is not confined to a single country, but displayed in the greatest cities of the Roman Empire; allusions are made to the various manners and principles of the Greeks, the Romans, and the Jews, which are carried so far with respect to this last nation, as to extend even to the trifles and follies of their schools. A Greek or Roman Christian, who lived in the second or third century, though as well versed in the writings of the antients as Eustathius or Asconius, would have been still wanting in Jewish literature; and a Jewish convert in those ages, even the most learned Rabbi, would have been equally deficient in the knowledge of Greece and Rome. If then the New Testament, thus exposed to detection, had it been an imposture, is found after the severest researches, to harmonize with the history, the manners, and the opinions of the first century, and since the more minutely we inquire, the more perfect we find the coincidence, we must conclude that it was beyond the reach of human abilities to effectuate so wonderful a deception.

I shall not enter into a particular detail of the many examples that may be produced, as the task has been so ably executed by Lardner<sup>2</sup>, but shall confine myself to a few particular remarks.

That

<sup>1</sup> In the First part of his *Credibility of the Gospel History*.

That learned writer has employed much diligence and erudition in answering an objection to St. Matthew's relation of the massacre in Bethlehem drawn from the silence of Josephus upon that subject<sup>2</sup>. His answer is in my opinion satisfactory, and the objection will be still diminished if we take into consideration the size of the town, which was small and insignificant. Admitting the inhabitants to amount to a thousand, the number of males born yearly would be between ten and twenty, and since those only were murdered who were two years old and under, it is not probable, allowing for natural deaths in that period, that more than twenty children suffered on that occasion. It was sufficient for this purpose to employ private assassins, and there was no necessity for issuing a public order. Josephus then might be either ignorant of the fact, or think it too insignificant to relate, when compared with the greater cruelties of Herod in Jerusalem. But were the objection unanswerable, it would affect not the New Testament in general, but merely the two first chapters of St. Matthew, which may be separated from the rest of the Gospel, because it is still a question whether they belong to it or not<sup>3</sup>.

When obscure passages, which have perplexed the most learned of the commentators, can at once be explained by a more minute knowledge of the special history of the times, it affords sufficient proof that the New Testament is not an invention of later ages. Of this the following may serve as examples.

We read in the Gospel of St. Luke<sup>4</sup> the answer of John the Baptist to the soldiers, who demanded of him, saying, What shall we do? a question of importance in the Christian morality, whether the life of a soldier be agreeable to the precepts of the Gospel. But what has hitherto occasioned so much difficulty is, who these soldiers were. Some of the commentators have explained them by the guards of the temple, others by Roman soldiers, who would not probably have frequented the baptism of St. John, though Grotius goes so far as to determine their particular destination, saying they were  
such

<sup>4</sup> Ch. ii. 14.

such as spent their lives in garrison, and never took the field but on the greatest emergency. Now it happens that the expression used by St. Luke is not soldiers (*στρωτοί*) but the participle *στρενομένοι*, i. e. men under arms, or men going to battle. Whence these persons came, and on what particular account, may be found at large in the history of Josephus'. Herod the tetrarch of Galilee was engaged in a war with his father-in-law Aretas, a petty king in Arabia Petræa, at the very time in which John was preaching in the wilderness. Machærus, a fortress situated on an hill not far from the eastern shore of the dead sea, on the confines of the two countries, was the place in which John was imprisoned and afterwards beheaded. The army of Herod then in its march from Galilæa passed through the country, in which John baptized, which sufficiently explains the doubt, who the soldiers were, that proposed to him the above question. So minute a coincidence in a circumstance overlooked by Grotius, and the rest of the commentators, would be hardly discovered in a forgery of later ages.

Another instance is to be found in the account of St. Paul's appearance before the council in Jerusalem, and his answer to Ananias\*. Here again the learned have met with considerable difficulties.

1. Who this Ananias was? a question which Krebs has explained in his remarks taken from Josephus<sup>4</sup>, having shewn him to be the son of Nebedeni.

2. How it can be reconciled with Chronology that Ananias was called at that time High Priest, when it is certain from Josephus, that the time of his holding that office was much earlier.

3. How it comes to pass that St. Paul says, "I wist not, brethren, that he was the High Priest:" since the external marks of office must have determined whether he were or not; a jest would have ill suited the gravity of a tribunal, and a falsehood still less the character of St. Paul.

On

\* Antiq. Lib. XVIII. c. v, sect. 1, 2.

\* Acts xxiii. 2—5.

On all these obscurities is thrown the fullest light, as soon as we examine the special history of that period, a light which is not confined to the present, but extends itself to the following chapters, insomuch that it cannot be doubted that this book was written, not after the destruction of Jerusalem, but by a person who was contemporary to the events, which are there related.

Ananias the son of Nebedem<sup>†</sup> was High Priest<sup>‡</sup> at the time, that Helena queen of Adiabene supplied the Jews with corn from Egypt<sup>†</sup>, during the famine which took place in the fourth year of Claudius, mentioned in the eleventh chapter of the Acts. St. Paul therefore, who took a journey to Jerusalem at that period<sup>‡</sup>, could not have been ignorant of the elevation of Ananias to that dignity. Soon after the holding of the first council, as it is called, at Jerusalem, Ananias was dispossessed of his office, in consequence of certain acts of violence between the Samaritans and the Jews, and sent prisoner to Rome<sup>¶</sup>, whence he was afterwards released and returned to Jerusalem. Now from that period he could not be called High Priest in the proper sense of the word, though Josephus<sup>×</sup> has sometimes given him the title of *αρχιερεως* taken in the more extensive meaning of a Priest, who had a seat and voice in the Sanhedrim<sup>γ</sup>; and Jonathan, though

<sup>†</sup> Josephi Antiquit. Lib. XX. c. v. sect.

<sup>‡</sup> Acts xv.

<sup>¶</sup> Josephi Antiquit. Lib. XX. c. vi. sect. ii.

<sup>×</sup> Antiquit. Lib. XX. c. ix. sect. 2. Bell. Jud. Lib. II. c. xvii. sect. 9.

<sup>γ</sup> *Αρχιερις* in the pl. number is frequently used in the N. T. when allusion is made to the Sanhedrim, which was divided into the following classes. 1. *Αρχιερις*, High Priests. 2. *Πρεσβυτεροι*, Elders, or Heads of families, who had a voice in the Sanhedrim. 3. *Γραμματεις*, or Assessors on the Bench of the Learned. Josephus likewise, in the last period of the Jewish state, uses *ιερις* and *αρχιερις* in opposition to each other (Antiquit. Lib. XX. c. viii. §. 8.) *ἐξαπτεται και τοις αρχιερευσι γασις προς της ιερις*,—*τοσαυτη δε της αρχιεριας κατελαβεν αναιδεια και τολμα, ωσε και περιπειν δουλως ετολμων επι τας αλωνας, της ληψομενης τας τοις ιερευσι οφειλομενας δικατας*. And again, c. ix. §. 2. It is to be lamented that he no where precisely



though we are not acquainted with the circumstances of his elevation, had been raised in the mean time to the supreme dignity in the Jewish Church. Between the death of Jonathan, who was murdered<sup>a</sup> by order of Felix, and the High Priesthood of Ismael, who was invested with that office by Agrippa<sup>a</sup>, elapsed an interval, in which this dignity continued vacant. Now it happened precisely in this interval that St. Paul was apprehended in Jerusalem: and, the Sanhedrim being destitute of a President, he undertook of his own authority the discharge of that office, which he executed with the greatest tyranny<sup>b</sup>. It is possible therefore that St. Paul, who had been only a few days in Jerusalem, might be ignorant that Ananias, who had been dispossessed of the Priesthood, had taken upon himself a trust to which he was not entitled; he might therefore very naturally exclaim, "I wist not, brethren, that he was the High Priest!" Admitting him on the other hand to have been acquainted with the fact, the expression must be considered as an indirect reproof, and a tacit refusal to recognize usurped authority.

A passage then, which has hitherto been involved in obscurity, is brought by this relation into the clearest light; and the whole history of St. Paul's imprisonment, the conspiracy of the fifty Jews<sup>c</sup> with the consent of the Sanhedrim, their petition to Festus to send him from Cæsarea with an intent to murder him on the road<sup>d</sup>, are facts which correspond to the character of the times as described by Josephus, who mentions the principal persons

precisely determines the meaning of ἀρχιερεῖς, but it appears from various passages of the N. T. that it must have one of the following senses—either all those priests who had a seat in the Sanhedrim, or the heads of the twenty-four classes into which the order of priests was divided, or such as had formerly discharged the office of High Priest, and after quitting that charge retained a seat in the Sanhedrim<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Jos. Ant. L. XX. c. viii. f. 5.

<sup>a</sup> Ant. Lib. XX. c. viii. f. 8.

<sup>b</sup> Ant. L. XX. c. ix. f. 2.

<sup>c</sup> Acts xxiii. 12—15.

<sup>d</sup> Acts xxv. 3.



sons recorded in the Acts, and paints their profligacy in colours even stronger than those of St. Luke.

Whoever attentively reads the New Testament will continually find examples of this nature. And it is sufficient in answer to the question, 'Is the New Testament antient and genuine?' to reply, 'Compare it with the history of the times, and you cannot doubt of its authenticity<sup>6</sup>.'

## S E C T. XII.

*Objections drawn from real or apparent contradictions between the accounts of profane authors, and those of the New Testament, particularly those of St. Luke.*

**I**T cannot be denied, that in a few particular facts the writings of the New Testament disagree either really or apparently, with the relations which have been given by profane historians. Of all the sacred authors, there is no one, who so frequently stands exposed to this charge as St. Luke, who in all other respects appears to the most advantage when put in competition with other writers; and perhaps I am not mistaken when I assert, that as many doubts of this nature may be raised against St. Luke alone, as against the other Apostles and Evangelists put together.

These historical objections must be divided into two separate classes, which we must take care not to confound.

1. Such as would demonstrate a book not to have been written by the author, to whom it is ascribed.

2. Such as would prove only that the author was mistaken, and therefore not divinely inspired.

The former kind alone belongs properly to this section; but as it may appear difficult to make the proper distinction, and examples of the latter sort, if too numerous in any work, would depreciate its authority, to avoid recurring hereafter to the same subject, I will give instances of both.

To

To the first class belongs the following, which is almost the only instance to be found. St. Paul relates in his second epistle to the Corinthians<sup>e</sup>, that in Damascus the governor under Aretas the king, kept the city of the Damascenes with a garrison, desirous to apprehend him; and that through a window in a basket he was let down by the wall, and escaped his hands. The question which naturally arises is, what authority could a governor under Aretas, a petty king in Arabia Petræa, have in Damascus, a city belonging to the Romans? We read neither in the works of Josephus, nor in those of any other author, that Damascus was ever subject to the dominion of Aretas; and to judge from the eighteenth book of the Jewish Antiquities<sup>f</sup>, which corresponds with the period of St. Paul's journey to Damascus, the city must have belonged at that very time to the Romans, since Flaccus is described as judge in a dispute between the Damascenes and Sidonians relating to the boundary of the two districts. And what increases the difficulty is the circumstance that the governor, who might be supposed an heathen, was so partial to the Jews, that St. Paul was exposed to more danger than in Jerusalem itself. Now, if this description of the circumstances of St. Paul's escape were an actual violation of historical truth, it would prove not only that the epistle was not divinely inspired, but that the Apostle was not the author, since he could not have been ignorant, during his stay at Damascus, to whom the city was subject, and whether the Governor was an heathen or a Jew.

The force of these objections has been considerably weakened, in a dissertation published in 1755, *De ethnarca Aretæ Arabum regis Paulo insidiante*, by J. G. Heyne, who has shewn it to be highly probable, first, that Aretas, against whom the Romans not long before the death of Tiberius made a declaration of war, which they neglected to put in execution, took the opportunity of seizing Damascus, which had once belonged to his ancestors; an event omitted in Josephus, as forming no

part

<sup>e</sup> Ch. xi. 32.

<sup>f</sup> Cap. vi. sect. 3.

part of the Jewish History, and by the Roman Historians as being a matter not flattering in itself, and belonging only to a distant province: secondly, that Aretas was by religion a Jew, a circumstance the more credible, when we reflect that Judaism had been widely propagated in that country, and that even kings in Arabia Felix had recognized the law of Moses. The difficulty then is so far removed, that it ceases to create suspicion against an epistle, which has so many evident marks of authenticity; and it is only to be regretted that, in order to place the subject in the clearest point of view, we are not sufficiently acquainted with the particular history of Damascus. I can produce, however, a fragment which is taken from an ancient tradition preserved in the *Tabulæ Syriæ* of Abulfeda<sup>2</sup>; but I would recommend to those who would criticise on this matter, to read the Arabic Original, and not the Latin Translation. In speaking of the great mosque at Damascus, he says, "the walls existed from the days of the Sabii, (i. e. Heathens) whose house of worship (temple) it had been. Afterwards it belonged to the Jews, and after that again to idolaters. About this time John, the son of Zacharias, (i. e. the Baptist) was put to death, and his head stuck on that gate of the mosque which is called the gate Girun. From that time the Christians had it in possession, and kept it till the beginning of the Muhammedan religion." It appears then that this house of worship, which was originally a Heathen temple, was in the hands of the Jews about the time of John the Baptist, and that it afterwards returned to its former destination. Now this is hardly to be explained on any other than the following hypothesis, viz. that Aretas, who was a contemporary of John the Baptist, made a conquest of Damascus, and being himself a Jew, permitted that nation to convert the temple into a synagogue, an indulgence hardly to be expected from the Romans; and that, when the city again submitted to the arms of Rome, the temple was restored to its original possessors. With respect to the head of John, it is probable that this part of the account, as heard by Abulfeda,

was

<sup>2</sup> P. 15, 16, of Koehler's edition.

was a mistake, and that the antient tradition of Damascus had been disfigured by being modelled into the form of Muhammedan manners. It is true that John was beheaded at that period, though not at Damascus; but the Jews were not accustomed to adorn their synagogues with the heads of the executed. Herod on the other hand would have avoided a measure, which could perpetuate the memory of an event painful to himself and odious to his subjects, and Aretas would rather have canonized than have exposed to public shame the head of a person, who had forfeited his life for censuring the marriage of Herod with Herodias, the rival and enemy of Aretas's daughter. If that part of the tradition be true, it can mean only that a head had been carved in stone over the door of the temple, and dedicated to John the Baptist during the time that the city was subject to Aretas, for the opinion that the Jews admitted in no case the introduction of images is ungrounded. By this explanation then the passage in the epistle to the Corinthians is not only freed from an heavy charge, but if I may use the expression, acquitted with honour. And hence we may explain the reason why the Jews were permitted to exercise in Damascus persecutions still severer than those in Jerusalem, where the violence of their zeal was awed by the moderation of the Roman policy. Of this we find an example in the ninth chapter of the Acts, where Paul is sent by the High Priest to Damascus to exercise against the Christians, cruelties which the return of the Roman governor had checked in Judæa. These accounts agree likewise with what is related in Josephus, that the number of Jews in Damascus amounted to ten thousand, and that almost all the women<sup>a</sup>, even those whose husbands were heathens, were of the Jewish religion<sup>1</sup>.

But

<sup>a</sup> The ceremony of circumcision prevented those of the male sex from becoming converts to a religion, which alone was agreeable to reason, taught the doctrine of the one true God.

<sup>1</sup> Josephus de Bello Jud. Lib. II. c. xx. f. 2.

But to proceed to examples of the second kind. These are such as would shew a writer to have committed a chronological or historical error, and ~~therefore~~ that he was not divinely inspired, but afford no ground to conclude that he was not the author of the writings which bear his name, since mistakes may be discovered in the most accurate historian. Could it be proved, for instance, beyond the possibility of a doubt, that St. Luke was mistaken in the time that Quirinius held the taxation in Judæa, or that Theudas excited a sedition; were it certain that he had wrongly related either the riot of the Egyptian, or the death of John the Baptist; the inference indeed might be deduced, that he was not so accurate in his inquiries as he had promised in the preface to his Gospel; and that the accounts, which he gathered from eye-witnesses to the several facts, were either falsely understood, or imperfectly remembered: but since the name determines nothing in the present instance, and the Acts of the Apostles, with the Gospel ascribed to St. Luke, must have had an author, there is no ground whatsoever for denying them to be a work of the Evangelist, and ascribing them to an anonymous writer.

It has been remarked above, that the chief difficulties of this nature are to be found in St. Luke, who was not a native of Palestine, but having accompanied St. Paul thither, made only a short stay in Jerusalem, and spent the greatest part of his time in Cæsarea. The objection then would relate only to the writings of St. Luke, and not to those of the Apostles Matthew, John, Paul, and Peter. St. Luke was not an Apostle, and I must confess, that, in treating this subject more fully in the following chapter, I shall be under the necessity of making a distinction between the inspiration of his writings, and those of the above-named Apostles.

But even admitting some trifling errors, from which no human being is exempt, he ceases not to be a most valuable historian, especially in the Acts of the Apostles, where he speaks either as eye-witness himself, or instructed by St. Paul, the companion of his journey. It  
cannot

cannot be denied, on the other hand, that this hypothesis would lower the degree of certainty in the accounts contained in his Gospel alone, and not mentioned by the other Evangelists; and would in some measure affect his beautiful and pathetic relation of the dying malefactor on the cross, a relation which is difficult to be reconciled, without violating the laws of criticism, with that of St. Matthew and St. Mark.

But impartiality requires that we should examine this subject more at large, and inquire who are the writers that contradict him, and whether the difference is by no explanation to be removed. The principal person is Josephus, who is indeed a valuable author, but whose excellencies by no means exempt him from the danger of error<sup>k</sup>; and I could produce examples not only of his relating the same story differently in different places, but even where he is equally mistaken in each. When St. Luke, then, and Josephus differ in their accounts of the same fact, the question is, which of the two writers has given the true one? And here it is not a little extraordinary, that without further inquiry it is universally determined in favour of the latter, as if Josephus were inspired, and whoever contradicted him must of course be mistaken. This is a method of proceeding which is applied on no other occasion; and it is usual, when we estimate the respective merits of two historians, to place them both in an equal balance, that the scale may preponderate in favour of the most deserving. And among the circumstances which tend to this preponderance, is surely the preference due to an historian, who describes events to which he is himself contemporary, above him who relates from hearsay or tradition, or to an author, who

<sup>k</sup> This is not the place for pointing out the mistakes of Josephus, but the reader may find many examples in the notes which I have subjoined to my translation of the first book of the Maccabees, especially p. 30—34, where I have pointed out the mistake of Josephus, with respect to the citadel (*Ακρά*) on mount Sion, who has described it as situated on a different mountain, to which Geographers, seduced by his authority, have given the name of *Acra*<sup>2</sup>.

who makes a particular study of that single portion of history, which is the object of inquiry, and is personally acquainted with the respective characters which are introduced, above an author who writes only a general history of a nation or empire. For instance, if I wished to be minutely informed in any circumstance relating to the blockade and the taking of Gottingen by the French in the seven years war, I would rather have recourse to an author who had written a particular history of that city, than to one who had written a history of Germany at large. For the same reason, in the case of John the Baptist's imprisonment and death, I would sooner give credit to the Evangelists than Josephus.

The difference which I have mentioned between a contemporary and a later historian, deserves more minutely to be examined. The period of history, in which we are most frequently deficient, is that which relates to the last twenty or thirty years before our birth, and the time of our childhood and youth : and we are more apt to make mistakes in matters belonging to this interval than in those of a remoter age. The reason is, that our historical works usually cease before the commencement of that period, our knowledge therefore of the former part is grounded on hearsay, and for the latter part we are too young to observe the transactions of the times. In the ages of antiquity this was more remarkably the case than in the present century, in which the daily papers and periodical journals may supply the place of more regular annals ; but it was far otherwise in the days of Josephus, who had no predecessor in the Jewish History, from whom he could derive a knowledge of the times that immediately preceded his birth. There is a period then of forty or fifty years, in which even with the most diligent inquiry, he was more exposed to error especially in the dates, than in more distant ages, where he had the advantage of written accounts. This period is easy to be determined, as he was born in the first year of Caligula, and therefore not long before St. Paul's escape from Damascus<sup>1</sup> : it commences between twenty and thirty years before

<sup>1</sup> 2 Cor. xi. 32, 33.



before his birth, and continues to his eighteenth or twentieth year, before which time he was hardly capable of collecting materials for an history<sup>3</sup>. To this must be added that he spent three years in the desert with Banun, an ascetic enthusiast, whence he returned in his one and twentieth year, and therefore about three years before the journey of St. Paul to Jerusalem, described in the twenty-first and twenty-second chapters of the Acts.

To apply these principles to one of the most obvious contradictions between Josephus and St. Luke. Gamaliel<sup>m</sup>, in a speech held in the same year in which Christ was crucified, speaks of one Theudas who had raised a sedition before the first taxation of the Jews under Quirinius<sup>n</sup>: Josephus on the contrary refers the sedition of Theudas to the government of Fadus<sup>o</sup>, a period eleven years later than the time in which Gamaliel made his speech; and he differs so materially from St. Luke, even in the chief circumstances as to give it the appearance of a different event. The Theudas mentioned in the Acts has only four hundred followers, the Theudas of Josephus persuades a very considerable number (τον πλειστον οχλον) to follow him to the river Jordan: the former is mentioned by Gamaliel as an instance in which the moderation of government had, without the intervention of arms, permitted a sedition to die away of itself; of the latter Josephus says that 'Fadus left not Theudas and his party in quiet possession of their fanaticism, but sent a troop of horse, who killed many of them, and made a still greater number prisoners, among whom was Theudas himself, whose head was cut off and brought to Jerusalem.'

Now if these opposite relations are not to be reconciled, I should not hesitate a moment to give the preference to St. Luke. It is true that the point in question lay without the circle of his own experience, but he was  
on

<sup>m</sup> Acts v. 34—36.

<sup>n</sup> This appears from v. 37. Μετα ταυτον ανεση Ιηδας ο Γαλιλαιος εν ταις ημεραις της απογραφης.

<sup>o</sup> Antiquit. Lib. XX. c. v. § 1.



on the other hand instructed by St. Paul a disciple of Gamaliel, and who could not be unacquainted with what his master had publicly spoken on so remarkable an occasion. And instead of supposing that St. Luke has woven into the speech of Gamaliel an account of an insurrection that happened later than the period of his speaking, I should rather believe that St. Luke had never heard of a commotion which was raised long after he had quitted the province. But Josephus was only nine years of age when Fadus left the government of Judæa: a mistake therefore relating to the transactions of those days was by no means improbable, and the mistake is easy to be explained, by supposing only the confusion of a single name. There lived at the time assigned by the speech of Gamaliel an impostor of the name of Theudas, who excited a sedition that soon dwindled to nothing, and is not recorded by Josephus: but during the administration of Fadus there arose an insurrection of a more serious nature, which Josephus, in writing his history, remembered from the days of his childhood, and having heard of a similar disturbance occasioned by Theudas, confounded in his relation of the last event the names of the two impostors †.

Another remarkable instance of contradiction between Josephus and the Evangelists is the relation of the imprisonment and death of John the Baptist. The cause ascribed by the Evangelists for his imprisonment is the liberty he had taken in rebuking Herod for his marriage with Herodias the wife of his brother Philip ‡. But Herod, notwithstanding this act of violence, respects the holy character of the Baptist, and frequently converses with him on different subjects. This excites the jealousy of Herodias, who is apprehensive that a continuance of this intercourse might be attended with danger to herself. She takes therefore the opportunity of an unguarded promise which Herod in the height of his zeal had given her daughter,

† This Philip is called Herod in the writings of Josephus, a matter which has been long since explained, and which I therefore pass over in silence §.

daughter<sup>9</sup>, to demand the head of John the Baptist in a charger<sup>6</sup>: a request which Herod in consequence of his oath is unable to refuse. Now in this relation there is not the least appearance of improbability, the story as related at large by the Evangelists<sup>7</sup> is minute and circumstantial. St. Matthew and St. Mark were both in the number of Christ's disciples, among whom was the brother of St. Peter<sup>8</sup> and others who had been disciples of John, and those very persons who had buried the body came and told Jesus'. No historian then whatsoever could be better qualified to attest an event, than St. Matthew and St. Mark were the imprisonment and death of John the Baptist.

On the other hand the relation of Josephus has no internal marks of improbability, though he is not so circumstantial as the Evangelists, except in determining the place of John's imprisonment and death, which was at Machærus, a fortress on the borders of Arabia Petræa. It happened therefore during the campaign which Herod made against Aretas, and hence the reason that the military officers<sup>10</sup> mentioned by St. Mark were present at his table. Josephus then, after describing John as a preacher of virtue, and one who recommended the purifying the heart not by baptism alone, but by a reformation of manners, continues his relation as follows<sup>11</sup>, "as the number of persons that flocked to him daily increased (for his preaching met with applause<sup>12</sup>) Herod was apprehensive that the aggrandisement of John's authority might

<sup>9</sup> This daughter; whose name was Salome, was at that time a child: for Herodias had quitted her first husband soon after Salome's birth, (Joseph. Ant. L. XVIII. c. v. f. 4.) a circumstance which affords a sufficient answer to those who object to this relation, saying that it was unsuitable to the dignity of a princess, and contrary to the manners of the age, to dance in public for the entertainment of the court.

<sup>7</sup> Matt. xiv. 1—13. Mark vi. 14—29.

<sup>8</sup> John i. 41 7.

<sup>6</sup> Matt. xiv. 42.

<sup>10</sup> Χιλιάρχοι, Mark vi. 21.

<sup>11</sup> Antiquit. Lib. XVIII. c. v. f. 2.

<sup>12</sup> In this passage I would rather read *ἡεθισαν* than *ἡεθησαν* or *ἡεθησαν*.

might end in a rebellion, since the populace refused nothing that he commanded. He thought it therefore more prudent to remove him in time before any accident happened, than to wait till it was arrived, when all remedy might be fruitless. On this suspicion therefore John was apprehended, brought to the above-mentioned fortress Machærus, and there put to death. But the Jews were persuaded that the defeat of their army, which happened soon after, was inflicted by the wrath of the Deity as a punishment on Herod."

The difference between these accounts is striking: for according to Josephus, Herod alone is to blame, who puts John to death on a suspicion that is totally ungrounded, but he is much more excusable according to the Evangelists, who relate that he was artfully surprised into a consent against his inclination; they give therefore a proof of their moderation and impartiality in relating the death of a friend, qualities which must excite a favourable opinion in our judgement of an historian. If we compare the Evangelists with Josephus in point of age, we shall find the presumption still greater in their favour: Josephus was born some years after John was beheaded, and was neither known to his disciples, from whom he could have derived intelligence, nor interested like the Evangelists to inquire minutely into the circumstances of the event. He had heard in general terms, that John was beheaded by the command of Herod a few years before the time of his birth, and like many profound historians who think to discover a serious political reason for events that were occasioned by a trifling accident, ascribed perhaps a cause which had no other ground than his own imagination? This at least is certain, that if we found the same contradiction in the relation of a fact between either Greek, or Roman, or modern historians, we should not hesitate to prefer the author who was contemporary to the event related, and who to a knowledge of the person described joins minuteness and impartiality, to him who lived in a later period, and wrote a general history, of which the subject in question was only an inconsiderable part.

As

As this last example applies chiefly to the two first Evangelists, I will mention another which applies only to St. Luke, and, setting as before inspiration aside, without which no comparison can be made, examine which of the two historians, Josephus or St. Luke, is most deserving of credit. The instance to which I allude is the history of the death of Herod Agrippa<sup>y</sup>, a history in which both authors agree in the principal point, and yet each introduces into his narration circumstances unconnected with, though not contradictory to those related by the other. They are likewise unanimous in their opinion of the cause of the painful disease which befel Agrippa, amid the acclamations of the multitude, and consider it as a punishment inflicted by the immediate intervention of the Deity. According to both historians the accident happened at Cæsarea during a public festivity, in which Herod appeared in solemn pomp. St. Luke relates that he had been offended with the Tyrians and Sidonians<sup>z</sup>, who were desirous of regaining his friendship<sup>a</sup>, because they imported from his dominions their chief articles of consumption. For this purpose they bring over Blastus the king's chamberlain to their party, and Herod consents to give them a public audience, and, according to the manner of those ages, to make them a speech from his throne<sup>b</sup>. Josephus relates that Herod Agrippa having heard on his arrival at Cæsarea, that a festival was to be celebrated in honour of the Roman Emperor, in order to render it more brilliant, commanded public exhibitions to be made in the theatre, at which the persons of the first rank and dignity in the province were present, and that on the second day of these exhibitions happened the above-mentioned accident. The account then is so far not contradictory to

<sup>y</sup> The rational, though concise account given by St. Luke, may be seen Acts xii. 19—23. the relation of Josephus is contained in his Antiquit. Lib. XIX. c. viii. f. 2.

<sup>z</sup> Θυμομαχῶν Τυρίοις καὶ Σιδωνίοις.

<sup>a</sup> ἡγάγετο σιγήνην.

<sup>b</sup> This was commonly erected in the theatre in great cities, as Wetstein has shewn in his note to Acts xix. 29.

to that of St. Luke, since deputies from Tyre and Sidon, though not mentioned by Josephus, might have been present at the solemnity, and have had political motives for coming at that time to Cæsarea, independent of the public games. We know from other writers that these cities were obliged to draw their supplies of corn from foreign countries; the circumstance related by St. Luke is therefore extremely probable in itself, and, as he spent two years at Cæsarea<sup>c</sup> shortly after the event, he had the best opportunity of being informed of the truth. But it might be easily unknown to Josephus, who wrote in a later period, and who betrays by his very language that he borrowed his accounts from a Jewish tradition, which, neglecting the political motive, had been careful only to preserve the story of the public exhibitions, which being unlawful according to Jewish principles were considered perhaps as the cause of Herod's misfortune.

On the appointed day the king appears in royal apparel, *ενδυσάμενος εσθητα βασιλικην*, as St. Luke expresses it, which is saying all that is necessary on that subject: but Josephus relates, "that he came at break of day in a garment woven entirely of silver, which was a wonderful piece of workmanship, and as the beams of the rising sun fell on it, it gave a wonderful<sup>d</sup> lustre, which was terrible to behold." This is a description which no modern historian would wish to have written: had Josephus himself beheld the garment, it would hardly have appeared so wonderful, or produced so terrible an effect; and the circumstance of a king's appearing in his robes of state at break of day is attended with a very low degree of probability.

The exclamation of the multitude after Herod had finished his oration is according to St. Luke *Θεε φωνη και*

εκ

<sup>c</sup> Acts xxiii. 33. xxiv. 27. xxv. 1. xxvi. 32. and that St. Luke remained at Cæsarea with St. Paul appears from his manner of expression xxvii. 1.

<sup>d</sup> Josephus probably translated from some Jewish account of this event, in which the words *דָּאָרְרָא* and *דָּאָרְרָא* were used, the former of which is commonly translated *δαυματος*; hence the repetition of this word in the same passage.

ἐκ ἀνθρώπων, which is short, and such as might be expected from a shouting populace; according to Josephus εὐμενὲς τε εἶη, εἰ καὶ μέχρι νῦν ὡς ἀνθρώπων ἐφοβήθημεν, ἀλλὰ τεν-  
τευθεν κρείττονα σε θνητῆς φύσεως ὁμολογῶμεν. Here St. Luke has clearly the advantage on his side, since Josephus, through affectation of a florid style, has converted the sudden shout of a multitude into a rounded period.

They are unanimous in attributing what followed to a preternatural cause, and consider it as a punishment for Herod's acquiescing in the infamous flattery: the only difference is, that Josephus relates it in better Greek, and St. Luke says in a style that is half Hebrew, the angel of the Lord smote him, because he gave not God the glory. With respect to the nature of the disorder, they both agree in its being a complaint in the bowels, which St. Luke as a physician more particularly determines, and says he was eaten of worms; but the account of Josephus is as follows: 'Soon after he looked up and beheld an owl<sup>o</sup> sitting on a cord over his head. This, which had been formerly a messenger of good, he then considered as a token of evil, and was greatly dejected. He was immediately attacked with a violent pain in his bowels,' &c. Here then I can make no further commentary, and leave my readers to determine which of the two historians deserves the preference.

If after so minute an examination of this last example, and the consequence, which must be necessarily drawn from it, we find other examples of disagreement, it is surely unreasonable to condemn St. Luke because he is contradicted by Josephus, who, as Lardner<sup>e</sup> has observed in the story of the Egyptian impostor, is sometimes more difficult to be reconciled with himself, than with the Evangelist<sup>f</sup>.

But it cannot be denied that a certain passage may be alledged in the Gospel of St. Luke<sup>g</sup>, which is much more difficult

<sup>e</sup> Credibility of the Gospel History, Part I. b. ii. c. 8. 1<sup>st</sup>.

<sup>f</sup> Compare Acts xxi. 38. with Josephi Antiquit. Lib. XX. c. viii. f. 6. and Bell. Jud. Lib. II. c. xiii. f. 5.

<sup>g</sup> Ch. ii. 2.

difficult to be rescued from censure, because it contradicts not only Josephus, but likewise the Roman historians. St. Luke relates in the beginning of the second chapter, that Christ was born during the taxation of Judæa, when Quirinius was governor of Syria, when it is certain from the Roman historians, that Quirinius was at that period in a different country. This is not the place to mention the various conjectures of the commentators, in order to reconcile the passage with historical truth. The most plausible method is to suppose, that instead of the words in the common text *αυτη η απογραφη πρωτη εγενετο ηγεμονευοντος της Συριας Κυρηνιου*, or according to the Codex Cantabrigiensis *αυτη η απογραφη εγενετο πρωτη<sup>12</sup> ηγεμονευοντος*, &c, the author originally wrote *αυτη η απογραφη εγενετο πρωτη, προ της ηγεμονευοντος της Συριας Κυρηνιου<sup>13</sup>*, and that the words *προ της* had been left out by mistake of the early transcribers. The author would then allude to an enrolment of the Jews, which not being accompanied with taxation occasioned no disturbance, and is therefore not recorded by Josephus. This is a critical conjecture, which would be allowed in a profane writer, who possessed the same credibility with St. Luke; and, as it is certain that his Gospel has been less correctly transcribed, than the other parts of the New Testament, there is an additional reason to grant him this indulgence.

A contradiction between the Evangelists and the Talmud, a book replete with fables, composed long after the destruction of Jerusalem, and grounded on oral tradition, will hardly be adduced as an argument against the authenticity of the Gospels. The distinction which is made by many, between that which is related in the Talmud as coming from the mouth of a Rabbi, who lived before the destruction of Jerusalem, and that which is there related as coming from a later Rabbi, is totally ungrounded, since the question still remains to be determined, whether that antient Rabbi had really asserted what was put to writing so long after the age, in which he lived. It is therefore a poor objection, and unworthy of a reply,



a reply, when, in order to invalidate the relation of Peter's denial of Christ, which is recorded by all the Evangelists, of whom two lived a considerable time in Jerusalem<sup>1</sup>, and St. Mark wrote under the immediate inspection of St. Peter himself, to contend that, according to the Bava Kama<sup>14</sup>, cocks were not permitted in Jerusalem<sup>15</sup>. This is to confute an historian, who relates an event, that happened in the city, where he lived, and in the circle of his own experience, by means of a tradition heard a century after the city was destroyed. To this must be added, that what the Jews relate of certain privileges belonging to Jerusalem is not only contradictory to Josephus, but manifestly false, as E. A. Schulze has fully shewn in a dissertation that deserves to be read, *De fictis Hierosolymæ privilegiis*<sup>16</sup>. It is therefore a matter of surprise that this objection from the Talmud should have appeared so important to many learned and sensible writers. Reland, who has taken great pains on this subject in his essay *De galli cantu Hierosolymis audito*, is willing to allow, 'æquum esse, ut Judæis, cum de suis rebus narrant, eandem fidem habeamus, quam Græcis et Romanis scriptoribus;' but he ought to have added after Judæis the words *coævis aut qui coævus legerunt*, and then the argument from the Talmud would be no longer applicable.

The objection to the story of the adulterers<sup>1</sup>, which militates not against the Evangelist, but merely against a passage omitted in many of the manuscripts, may be found at large in the two hundred and sixty-second section of the Mosaic law<sup>17</sup>, which may at the same time be read as a commentary on this section.

<sup>1</sup> Namely St. Mark and St. John. See Acts xii. 12. and Gal. ii. 1—9.

<sup>1</sup> John viii. 1—11.



## C H A P. III.

## OF THE INSPIRATION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

## S E C T. I.

*Of the difference between canonical and apocryphal books ; and whether the truth of the Christian religion necessarily depends on the New Testament's being inspired.*

THE doctrine of inspiration is a subject, which belongs rather to the province of dogmatic theology<sup>1</sup>, than to a general introduction to the New Testament. I presuppose then its definition<sup>2</sup>, as well as the manner, in which it differs from Revelation<sup>3</sup>, to be sufficiently known, and will direct my inquiries to the influence of this question on the truth of our religion.

Those writings, which we believe to have been inspired by the Deity, we call canonical, because they are the canon, or rule of our faith, and moral actions. Whether those, who introduced the expression, meant to convey precisely this idea, is of no importance at present, because I shall not refer to their authority : I use the word in the same meaning, in which it is generally accepted by divines, and name that canonical, which is divinely inspired<sup>4</sup>.

The opposite to canonical is apocryphal, a word which must not be considered as a term of contempt, or as depreciating a book, to which it is applied. But these words are not opposite to each other in such a sense, that a negation of the one necessarily implies the reality of the other, since no one would call Tully's Offices, or the works of Justin Martyr apocryphal, because they are not inspired. Those writings only, which either have been considered as canonical, or might be easily mistaken for such on account of their author and their antiquity, are termed apocryphal, when excluded from the canon. But this exclusion alone by no means derogates from their real worth ; and although there are many under this title, which are manifestly spurious, there are others again which

which are highly deserving our esteem. The first book of the Maccabees is a most valuable historical monument, written with great accuracy and fidelity, and a work on which more reliance is to be placed, than on the writings of Josephus, who has borrowed from it his materials, and frequently mistaken their meaning. The same may be said of Jesus Sirach, and the book of Wisdom: and the title prefixed to our Apocrypha is, 'Books, which have not an equal rank with the Holy Scriptures, and yet are valuable, and edifying to read.' The same meaning, in which the word is used with respect to the Old Testament, must be retained when applied to the New: and we must be careful to avoid the error of supposing, that the term Apocryphal Gospel necessarily implies a spurious production, or a work of evil tendency; but we must consider a book of that nature, as, what it really is, a history of the life of Christ, of so high antiquity, that it might pretend to a place in the sacred canon, but which we believe to be simply a human production.

The notion<sup>s</sup> expressed by the word Apocrypha is taken from the Jews, and though the word itself is of Greek original, it cannot be explained by a Greek etymology, according to which it would convey a much higher idea, and signify writings preserved in the sacred recesses of the Temple. It is nothing more than a translation of the Rabbinical word *גנוז*, which signifies 'laid aside,' so as not to be read in the Synagogue<sup>k</sup>; for instance if a Copy of the Bible had two mistakes in one and the same page it was allowable to correct them; but if there were three mistakes, the book must be laid aside, (*שלש גנוז*), and they used the same expression for books, which were not supposed to be of divine authority. Thus Rabbi Nathan speaking of the Proverbs, Solomon's Song, and Ecclesiastes, says, 'in former times it was said of these books *גנוזים היו*, i.e. they are apocryphal<sup>o</sup>." But, though we have borrowed the expression from the Jews, we are not obliged to follow their example in the distinction of those writings,

<sup>k</sup> See Buxtorf's Lexicon Chald. Talm. Rabbin. art. *גנוז*.

writings, to which it is applied ; and though apocryphal books of the Old Testament were not allowed in the Jewish Synagogues, they are very properly read in the Christian churches. For the same reason, should we entertain a doubt of the inspiration of St. Mark, and St. Luke, their Gospels might still form a part of the public service, especially as St. John himself is said to have recommended them, as well as that of St. Matthew.

The question, whether the books of the New Testament are inspired, is not so important, as the question whether they are genuine. The truth of our religion depends upon the latter<sup>7</sup>, not absolutely on the former. Had the Deity inspired not a single book of the New Testament, but left the Apostles, and Evangelists without any other aid, than that of natural abilities to commit what they knew to writing, admitting their works to be authentic, and possessed of a sufficient degree of credibility, the Christian religion would still remain the true one<sup>8</sup>. The miracles, by which it is confirmed, would equally demonstrate its truth, even if the persons, who attested them were not inspired, but simply human witnesses ; and their divine authority is never presupposed, when we discuss the question of miracles, but merely their credibility as human evidence. If the miracles are true, which the Evangelists relate, the doctrines of Christ recorded in the Gospels are proved to be the infallible oracles of God : and, even if we admit the Apostles to be mistaken in certain not essential circumstances, yet as the main points of the religion, which Christ commissioned them to preach, are so frequently repeated, their epistles would as well instruct us in the tenets of the Christian system, as the works of Maclaurin in the philosophy of Newton<sup>9</sup>. It is possible therefore to doubt, and even deny the inspiration of the New Testament, and yet be fully persuaded of the truth of the Christian religion : and many really entertain these sentiments either publicly, or in private, to whom we should render great injustice, if we ranked them in the class of unbelievers<sup>10</sup>.

Yet

Yet the Christian religion would be attended with difficulty, if our *Principium cognoscendi* rested not on firmer ground ; and it might be objected, that sufficient care had not been taken for those, whose consciences were tender, and who were anxiously fearful of mistaking the smallest of the divine commands. The chief articles indeed of Christianity are so frequently repeated, both by Christ and his Apostles, that even were the New Testament not inspired, we could entertain no doubt of the following doctrines: “ Jesus was the Messiah of the Jews, and an infallible messenger of God : he died for our iniquity, and by the satisfaction made by his death we obtain remission of sins, if on our part be faith and amendment of life : the Levitical law is abolished, and divine precepts, with the ceremonies of Baptism and the Supper of the Lord, are appointed in its stead : after the present follows an everlasting life, in which the virtuous shall be rewarded and the wicked punished, and where Christ himself shall be the Judge.’ In these points, on account of their frequent repetition, it is hardly possible to be mistaken ; but there are others again, in which, on the above-mentioned hypothesis, we should be left in anxious doubt. I will not mention the first chapter of St. John, and other passages which relate to theoretical subjects, but such as immediately concern our moral actions, and where the Christian precepts must determine, whether we shall act or not. For instance, if the source, from which we derive our authority, is not infallible, is it certain that Christ has forbidden the taking an oath<sup>1</sup>, which is permitted by the tenets of the Levitical law, and the principles of moral philosophy ? And is St. Paul, on the other hand, guilty of a crime, in calling the Deity to witness, or St. Matthew of a mistake, in relating that Christ himself replied, when adjured by the living God<sup>2</sup> ? Now if we really entertained these scruples, they would occasion the greatest anxiety, since it is almost impossible to pass through the world, without taking, on some occasion, an oath ; and we should cease to be useful members of society, if we pretended to protection from the  
state,

<sup>1</sup> Matth. v. 34.

<sup>2</sup> Matth. xxvi. 63, 64.

state, without being bound ourselves by reciprocal obligations.—Is the command of Christ to receive injuries without resistance<sup>a</sup> to be taken in a literal sense; and is it unlawful, when attacked, to repel the violence? Are the Apostles and Evangelists mistaken when they deliver doctrines, which contradict these precepts? And what rule of conduct shall be adopted by him who is obliged by the laws of his country to serve in war? Must he die a martyr to this maxim, “I wish to be protected by others, but dare not protect myself?”—Is the command still binding which is given in the fifteenth chapter of the Acts not to eat blood? It is true, St. Paul explains this command in his first epistle to the Corinthians in such a manner, that it might be abolished, as soon as the Christian communities should cease to contain so great a number of converted Jews, whose prejudices retained from the Levitical law were in some measure to be respected. But as St. Paul was the Apostle of the Gentiles, are we certain that he has not made too great a concession in their favour?—Doubts like these might arise in an anxious mind, on a supposition that the writers of the New Testament were not inspired<sup>b</sup>; and the Christian religion would be really a misfortune, if we must remain in the cruel suspense whether the precepts, which favour of severity, are to be ascribed to the Deity, and those, which breathe a spirit of gentleness, to human error.

The inference then to be deduced from what has been advanced in this section is as follows: ‘Inspiration is not absolutely necessary to constitute the Truth of the Christian religion, but it is necessary in order to promote its beneficial effects. If the parts of the New Testament are inspired, they make collectively a single entire work, in which the doubts arising in one passage are fully explained by another: but if the several parts of the New Testament are not inspired, the chain by which they hang together is destroyed, and the contradictory passages must occasion anxiety and distrust.’

Yet,

<sup>a</sup> Matth. v. 39—41

Yet, after weighing with all that care and caution, which so important a subject requires, the arguments which may be advanced on both sides, it is perhaps advisable to divide the question. To the Epistles Inspiration is of real consequence, but with respect to the Historical books, viz. the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, we should really be no losers if we abandoned the system of Inspiration, and in some respects have a real advantage. We should be no losers if we considered the Apostles in historical facts as merely human witnesses, as Christ himself has done in saying, ‘Ye also shall bear witness, because ye have been with me from the beginning °.’ And no one, that attempts to convince an unbeliever of the truth of Christianity, would begin his demonstration by presupposing a doctrine which his adversary denies, but would ground his arguments on the credibility of the Evangelists, as human historians, for the truth of the miracles, the death, and the resurrection of Christ. Even those, who examine the grounds of their faith for their own private conviction, must treat the Evangelists as human evidence; since it would be arguing in a circle to conclude that the facts recorded in the Gospels are true, because they are inspired, when we conclude the scriptures to be inspired in consequence of their contents. In these cases then we are obliged to consider the Evangelists as human evidence, and it would be no detriment to the Christian cause to consider them at all times as such in matters of historical fact<sup>13</sup>. We find it no where expressly recorded that the public transactions which the Apostles knew by their own experience, and of which St. Luke informed himself by diligent enquiry should be particular objects of divine inspiration. We should even be considerable gainers, in adjusting the harmony of the Gospels, if we were permitted to suppose, that some one of the Evangelists had committed an immaterial error, and that St. John has rectified some trifling mistakes in the preceding Gospels. The most dangerous objections which can be made to the truth of our religion, and such as are most difficult to answer, are those

° John xv. 27.

those drawn from the different relations of the four Evangelists. The Fragments published by Lessing<sup>14</sup> insist chiefly on this objection: but the whole vanishes into nothing, unless we ourselves give it that importance which it has not in itself, by assuming an unnecessary hypothesis. Let us therefore examine the question with coolness and impartiality, the only mean of discovering the truth.

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## S E C T. II.

*Of the criterion by which Inspiration must be determined, and of the application of this criterion to the writings of the Apostles. These writings if genuine, are inspired.*

**A**S it is the business of Dogmatic Theology to examine those principles, by which a religion is shewn to have been revealed, I shall not enter into the discussion of a subject, which has been already so ably handled. I take for granted then the divine mission of Christ and his Apostles, and have only to examine the reasons which induce us to believe, that the writings of the latter are not merely human productions, but inspired by the Deity. I shall here avoid entering into those disputes, which have been conducted with so much warmth, and so much perplexity, with respect to determining the canon<sup>1</sup>.

No protestant can appeal on this subject to the testimony of the church<sup>2</sup>. In facts, which fall under the notice of the senses, such as an Apostle's having written the Book, which is ascribed to him, or the judgement he has given of the writings of others, the evidence of the antient contemporary church is at all times admissible, and its testimony is confirmed by that of the heretics. But inspiration is a matter, which the antient Church could neither see nor feel; and no man can give evidence of that, which is not the object of his knowledge: still less can we appeal to any later church, however



ever dignified its name, or great its authority. The church of the eighteenth century can testify, that the sacred books at present in use are the same, which existed in the seventeenth century, this again with respect to the preceding, and so on to the fourth century; further is the testimony of the church of no value<sup>3</sup>.

Whoever appeals to the evidence of the church to determine a book to be canonical, not to mention that it has condemned at one period, what it has approved at another<sup>4</sup>, must first decide this difficult question, What is the church, and who are heretics\*? If we answer, The true church is that which maintains the doctrines delivered in the inspired writings of the New Testament, and if in answer to the question, How do you know that those writings are inspired? we reply, Because the true church has determined them to be inspired,—we manifestly argue in a circle.

“But we appeal to the canon of the Jews with respect to the Old Testament: shall the Christian Church then have less authority than the Jewish synagogue?”—The difference is too visible to need explanation, and the bare testimony of Josephus for the divine inspiration of a book of the Old Testament is of more weight, than the decision of the Christian Church for the Divinity of a book of the New, even were all the sects in Christendom united to constitute that church<sup>5</sup>. The writings of the Old Testament are confirmed not only by St. Paul, but by Christ himself: on their authority therefore we rely, and not on that of the synagogue. But we have no Apostle to vouch for the canon adopted by the Christian Church, since the collection of canonical books was made after the death of the Apostles; or, admitting it to be made during the latter part of the life of St. John, he has left no written evidence of his approbation of the canon, and oral tradition is very insufficient on so important a subject.

An inward sensation of the effects of the Holy Ghost,  
and

\* The Nazarenes and Ebionites accepted only the Gospel of St. Matthew, which was rejected by the Marcionites, who admitted no other Gospel than that of St. Luke.



and the consciousness of the utility of these writings in improving the heart, and purifying our morals, are criterions as uncertain as the foregoing. With respect to that inward sensation, I must confess that I have never experienced it in the whole course of my life; nor are those persons who have felt it, either deserving of envy, or nearer the truth, since the Muhammedan feels it, as well as the Christian. And, as this internal divine sensation is the whole proof, on which Muhammed grounded his religion<sup>p</sup>, which so many millions have adopted, we must naturally conclude it to be self-deceit. The other test is likewise insufficient, since pious sentiments may be excited by works, that are simply human, by the writings of philosophers, or even by doctrines founded on error: and if it were possible to draw a conclusion from these premises, the premises themselves are uncertain, since there are instances of men of the most despicable character, who have fancied they had attained the highest pitch of holiness<sup>q</sup>.

I will now proceed to a more satisfactory proof<sup>r</sup>, and for that purpose shall divide the books of the New Testament, which we receive as canonical, into two separate classes, which we must take care not to confound. The greater number bear the names of Apostles, namely, Matthew, John, Paul, James, Peter, and Jude: others again were not written by Apostles, but by their companions and assistants, viz. the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke, and the Acts of the Apostles.

With respect to the writings belonging to the first of these classes, their inspiration depends on their authenticity. If they are written by the Apostles, to whom they are ascribed, we consider them as divinely inspired; if not written by Apostles, they can make no pretension to inspiration. For instance, if the Revelation, and two last epistles of St. John, and the second epistle of St. Peter were written by those Apostles, we must conclude them to be inspired, otherwise no reason whatsoever can be

<sup>p</sup> See the Orient. Biblioth. Vol. III. p. 92—95<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>q</sup> See Orient. Bibl. Vol. III. p. 88—92<sup>7</sup>.

be assigned for drawing that conclusion. The same may be said of the epistles of James and Jude, of which it must at the same time be observed, that it is not sufficient to say they might be genuine though not written by those Apostles, but by two other persons of those names in the first century. For in that case, though genuine, they would cease to be inspired, unless we chose to ground our reasoning on the decisions of a council, or the authority of a Pope. Even that excellent epistle to the Hebrews would cease to be divine, if it came not from the hand of Paul. It would still remain a most valuable work, by which we are not only edified and improved, but by which we have discovered a variety of truths contained in the Old Testament, that without it would perhaps never have been known, and yet when discovered seem obvious to reason: but we could no longer consider it as divinely inspired, an infallible principium cognoscendi.

It will be asked on what argument the position is grounded, that the writings of the Apostles if genuine are inspired? I answer then, as far as I am able to discover, ‘on the testimony of Christ and his Apostles, which is credible and sacred, because they have confirmed their doctrines by numberless miracles.’ But ‘where is this evidence recorded?’ it will be again objected; the Apostles have nowhere said, like the antient prophets, ‘The word of the Lord came unto Paul,’ ‘Thus saith the Lord, speak to the Corinthians,’ &c. Do the Apostles themselves require us to believe them inspired, and do we not confer on them a greater honour, than they themselves expected! Let us hear however their evidence, and that of Christ himself.

It is certain in the first place, that the Apostles must be regarded not only as prophets, but as greater than prophets. Christ says that John the Baptist is a prophet, and more than a prophet, and adds, ‘Verily I say unto you, among them that are born of women there has not risen a greater than John the Baptist: notwithstanding he that is least in the kingdom of Heaven is greater than

than he<sup>r</sup>. Now it is manifest from the context that the terms great and little are applicable only to the word prophet. The least prophet therefore of the New Testament is greater than John the Baptist, and all the prophets of the Old. If this is not to be referred to the Apostles, I know not who are the prophets in the kingdom of God<sup>o</sup>. It is true that in the beginning of the New Testament<sup>10</sup> there were other prophets<sup>11</sup> who had received their spiritual gifts from the hands of the Apostles: but, setting aside the superiority which this very communication necessarily implies, we constantly find in the epistles that, whenever mention is made of the several offices in the church, prophets are ranked in the list as inferior to apostles. St. Paul in treating of the gifts of the Holy Ghost says expressly, ‘God hath set some in the church first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers, after that<sup>r</sup>,’ &c. and in the following verse observes precisely the same order. ‘Are all apostles, are all prophets, are all teachers<sup>12</sup>,’ &c. Likewise in his epistle to the Ephesians<sup>t</sup>, speaking of the diversity of gifts and offices in the church he says, and he gave some, apostles, and some, prophets; and some, pastors and teachers; to which last class belonged those who were assistants to the Apostles, such as Mark, Luke, Timothy, and Titus. In the second chapter<sup>u</sup> of the same epistle he likewise places them before the antient prophets.

Whenever therefore, in this sense of the word Apostle, an epistle begins in the following manner, ‘*Paul an apostle of Jesus Christ*,’ or strengthened by the following addition, ‘*Paul an Apostle not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ and God the Father, who raised him from the dead*,’ ‘*Paul an Apostle of Jesus Christ, by the will of God; or by the commandment of God*<sup>x</sup>.’ is it not a stronger assertion of the epistle’s being divine, than when a writer of the Old Testament begins his book by stiling himself a prophet

<sup>r</sup> Mark xi. 9—11.<sup>o</sup> 1 Cor. xii. 28.<sup>t</sup> Ch. iv. 11.<sup>u</sup> V. 20.<sup>v</sup> Gal. i. 1.<sup>x</sup> 1 Cor. i. 1.

2 Cor. i.

Ephes. i. 1.

Coloss. i. 1.

1 Tim. i. 1.

<sup>z</sup> 2 Tim. i. 1. Tit. i. 1—3.

prophet of God?—But such expressions as Paul an apostle, John an apostle, &c. are not prefixed to all the epistles, still less to the Gospels.—I grant it, and draw in that case no proof of inspiration from the title; but at the same time no inference can be made of the contrary, since the absence of those expressions is no more an argument against the inspiration of a book of the New Testament, than against the inspiration of the historical and moral books of the Old Testament, particularly the Psalms, which are so often quoted in the New Testament as divine.

If we consider Christ's more immediate promises of inspiration to the Apostles, we shall find, that he has given them in the most proper sense of the word, at three several periods, 1st, when he sent the Apostles to preach the Gospel<sup>y</sup>, 2dly, in holding a public discourse relating to the Gospel, at which were present a considerable multitude<sup>z</sup>, 3dly, in his prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem<sup>a</sup>. Now, whoever reads these passages must be convinced that they relate not to ordinary gifts, or the usual endowments of Providence, for the Holy Ghost, or divine inspiration, is particularly mentioned, '*it is not ye that speak, but the Holy Ghost,*' and again, '*it is not ye that speak, but the spirit of your Father which speaketh in you,*' for which reason it was forbidden them to take thought before hand, what they should speak; and this promise was not confined to the matter, which should be suggested to them, but was extended to the very manner, in which they should utter it. It is true that, when we argue from their inspiration on these occasions to the inspiration of their writings, we draw a conclusion a minore ad majus, but it is a conclusion to which no rational objection can be made: for, if they were to expect inspiration for those speeches and answers, which were only temporary, and in which they appeared rather as advocates than teachers, how much more reason had they to

<sup>y</sup> Matth. x. 19, 20.<sup>z</sup> Luke xii. 11, 12.<sup>a</sup> Mark xiii. 14. Luke xxi. 14, 15.

to expect inspiration in those writings, which were to serve as a standard of faith to posterity ! To the future writings of the Apostles Christ undoubtedly alluded when he said to Peter, '*Tbou art Peter (i. e. a Rock), and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it.*' The word Rock can refer only to Peter<sup>13</sup>, on whose evidence for Christ and his Gospel the faith of the church was to be founded, not only of that church, which heard him preach, but of the future church even to the latest ages, since its duration is described as unlimited, and never to be subdued by the powers of darkness. But on what evidence of Peter shall the present church, or even that of the third and fourth century, ground its faith as on a rock ? Surely not on the verbal testimony of the Apostle, which may happen to be preserved by oral tradition, a vehicle that ever adds more falsehood, than it finds original truth. This would be a very unstable rock : but unfortunately we are here forsaken by tradition, for of the doctrines, which Peter verbally delivered, we have hardly any fragments remaining, and even in the fourth century when the learned Eusebius collected all that it was possible to find, the collection was as scanty as at present. The Apostle then could by no other means become the Rock, on which the future church should build its faith, and against which the gates of Hell should not prevail, than by leaving written and lasting evidence of the truth of Christianity<sup>14</sup>. This written evidence is contained in his epistles, and perhaps in the Gospel of St. Mark, which was written under his direction.

Another promise, which was first given to Peter, and afterwards extended to all the Apostles, was that *what they forbad on earth should be forbidden in Heaven, and what they permitted on earth permitted in Heaven*<sup>b</sup>. This is more than can be ascribed to any prophet of the Old Testament, who were not at all times inspired<sup>15</sup>, and what they commanded or forbad could then only be considered

<sup>b</sup> Matth. xvi. 19. xviii. 18. *Δειω* corresponds to *ῥδω*, which signifies 'to bind,' and metaphorically 'to forbid.'

sidered as the command, or prohibition of the Deity, when they expressly declared that they spoke from inspiration. If then this authority was given to the Apostles without reserve, it is manifest that, as often as they appeared as teachers of the Gospel, they were attended by a constant inspiration, and of course when they committed the precepts of Christianity to writing: or we must have recourse to the hypothesis, that the Deity permitted errors to intrude themselves into the morality of the Gospel, which will therefore not be laid to our charge at the general retribution. This indeed is highly improbable, but, whichever hypothesis we adopt, we shall come to this conclusion, that the moral precepts, which are contained in the writings of the Apostles, are for us commands of the Deity.

The promises, which were given by Christ in the night preceding his death, of the continual assistance of the Holy Ghost, deserve particular attention: and, what renders them of more importance on the present question is, that they are recorded in the Gospel of St. John\*, who wrote with a particular view to support the authority of the Apostles against the Gnostics. In the fourteenth chapter† Christ assures the Apostles, that he will send them after his departure a teacher or reminder‡, that he may abide with them for ever, ‘even the Spirit of truth,’ and adds, for he dwelleth with you, and shall be in you.’ A proof, that no allusion is made in the present instance to what is called in the system of Dogmatic Theology ordinary gifts, without which no man can be a Christian, and which therefore the Apostles must have long possessed, but to those extraordinary gifts, which were imparted on the day of Pentecost, is not to be expected here, because it belongs to another province<sup>17</sup>. But I beg my readers to be attentive to those passages which

\* Ch. xiv. xv. xvi.

† v. 16, 17.

‡ παρακλητος, which is improperly translated ‘Comforter.’ I was first led to this explanation<sup>16</sup> by a passage in Philo de mundi opificio, εδιν δὲ παρακλητῶν (τις γὰρ ἡ εἰστος;) χρησαμενος οὗ Θεός.

Philonis Opera, Tom. I. p. 5. ed. Mangey.

which are printed in Italics, and to examine if they do not imply a constant inspiration whenever the Apostles assume their office of Preachers of the Gospel. They were to testify of Christ, because they had been with him from the beginning, and knew all that he had taught and done<sup>f</sup>: the promised Teacher was to testify through them, and to convince the world<sup>g</sup>. They had the assurance then, that, whenever they proclaimed the truth of the Gospel, they should be assisted by the Holy Ghost<sup>h</sup>, an assistance which they had not during the life of Christ, or before the miraculous gifts were imparted on the day of Pentecost. It consisted therefore not in the ordinary gifts, as they are called, but in real and proper inspiration. Now can we suppose, that the Apostles enjoyed this inspiration, when they preached the Gospel in harangues heard only by a few, and that it ceased, whenever they commenced the more important task of delivering the Christian precepts in writings, which were to serve as the basis of faith and knowledge to all mankind? And where is it said, among all the above-mentioned passages, that this assistance should be confined to verbal testimony, and that the Apostles dared not deliver written evidence, without forfeiting all pretensions to the promised aid? The Holy Ghost was to assist them, not only in those subjects, in which they had not<sup>b</sup> been instructed by Christ, but likewise in matters to the knowledge of which they might have attained by human means. By the natural powers of memory alone they might have recorded those speeches of Christ, which they themselves had heard, though exposed to the danger of having falsely understood, not accurately remembering, or of omitting doctrines, which were necessary to be known. For these reasons Christ assures them, that the Holy Ghost shall bring all things to their remembrance, whatever he had said unto them<sup>i</sup>. When the Apostles therefore, St. Matthew and St. John, relate those precepts of Christ, which they themselves had heard, they write

<sup>f</sup> John xv. 26, 27. xvi. 7—11.

<sup>h</sup> John xvi. 12—15.

<sup>g</sup> John xvi. 7.

<sup>i</sup> John xiv. 26.



write indeed from their own memory, but under the protection of the Spirit, who secures them from the danger of mistake: and we must of course conclude that their Gospels are inspired.

Let us now examine what the Apostles themselves say of their own inspiration. St. Paul asserts that he had his Gospel not of men, nor even of other Apostles, but from the immediate revelation of Christ<sup>k</sup> himself. Even an outward ceremony, the celebration of the sacrament, he says that he has received from the Lord<sup>l</sup>: it is no wonder then that God revealed unto him by his Spirit truths which lie beyond the reach of human philosophy<sup>m</sup>. St. Peter likewise says of the Apostles, that they preached the Gospel with the Holy Ghost sent down from Heaven<sup>n</sup>. From these passages it appears that the Apostles were Prophets, and that in an higher sense than the Prophets of the Old Testament, though it does not immediately follow that their writings were inspired. But even this ceases to be a question, when we read what St. Paul has written on another occasion, who in answer to the complaints of the Corinthians, that his harangues were devoid of the graces of oratory, replies in the following manner: *'We speak not in the words, which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth, comparing spiritual things with spiritual'*<sup>o</sup>. Now it is impossible, that this can be confined to speeches which last for an instant, and be excluded from writings that will remain for ever: nor do the words of the Apostle in the least degree imply so narrow a construction.

He appeals in the first epistle to the Corinthians<sup>p</sup>, not only to the community in general, but to those who were prophets or spiritual, to acknowledge, that the things that he wrote unto them were the commandment of the Lord. In the seventh chapter of the same Epistle he makes a distinction between that, which he writes as the  
command

<sup>k</sup> Gal. i. 11, 12<sup>19</sup>.

<sup>m</sup> 1 Cor. ii. 10.

<sup>o</sup> 1 Cor. ii. 13<sup>21</sup>.

<sup>l</sup> 1 Cor. xi. 23<sup>20</sup>.

<sup>n</sup> 1 Pet. i. 12.

<sup>p</sup> Ch. xiv. 37, 38.



command of God, and that which he writes as his own private advice; and with respect to certain questions, that had been proposed to him, says "I have no commandment of the Lord, yet I give my judgment as one that hath obtained mercy of the Lord to be faithful." It is a matter of surprise, that an argument has been drawn from this passage against the inspiration of his epistles, and of still greater surprise, that the objection should appear so important that the commentators have attempted to defend the inspiration of these very passages, by referring to the fortieth verse of the seventh chapter, in which St. Paul, after having delivered his own opinion, adds 'I think also I have the Spirit of God.' But those counsels, which St. Paul gives as of his own authority, and in which he himself protests against inspiration, it is agreeable to common sense to suppose were not inspired<sup>2</sup>: and there can be no reason, when the Corinthians ask his advice on points, on which he has no inspiration, why he should not give it according to the dictates of human reason only, when he himself expressly declares it. On the contrary, this very argument is a proof of the inspiration of his epistles in general, since no exception can be made till a rule has been established.

If the second epistle of Peter be genuine, which I really believe, it contains a passage<sup>3</sup>, which, though generally overlooked, is of great importance to the present question. He had spoken of the epistles of St. Paul, in which, or in the subjects of which he treated, (for here is a variation'), 'there were some things hard to be understood, which they that were unlearned and unstable, wrested as they did all the other scriptures (τὰς ΛΟΙΠΑΣ γραφάς) unto their own destruction.' Here it is certain that τὰς γραφάς is used for the sacred writings κατ' ἐξοχὴν in the same sense, as the Jews applied it to the Old Testament, and the words τὰς ΛΟΙΠΑΣ set the epistles of St. Paul, at

<sup>1</sup> Ch. iii. 16.

<sup>2</sup> *εἰς αὐτὸς* and *εἰς αὐτὸς*, the former, which is the usual reading, referring to the subjects; the latter, which seems to be the best reading, to the epistles themselves.

at least as many as existed at that time, on the same level with the Old Testament, and refer to them as a part of those writings, which secundum excellentiam are styled *α γραφαι*, or, as we should express it, the Bible.

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S E C T. III.

*Of those writings of the New Testament, which were not written by Apostles, but by assistants of the Apostles.*

**B**ESIDE those books of the New Testament, which we have shewn to be inspired as having been written by Apostles, there are three which were written by their assistants, viz. the Gospels of St. Mark and of St. Luke and the Acts of the Apostles. The question is, what are the grounds for placing these likewise in the canon?

I must confess, that I am unable to find a satisfactory proof of their inspiration, and the more I investigate the subject, and the oftener I compare their writings with those of St. Matthew and St. John, the greater are my doubts. In the third edition of this work, I delivered the arguments for and against their inspiration with a degree of uncertainty, which side of the question I should prefer, though rather inclined to the affirmative; at present, though I shall deliver my sentiments in the same cautious uncertainty as before, I am strongly inclined to the negative. That these books were written by assistants of the Apostles affords no proof of their inspiration, even could it be shewn, what is not grounded on historical evidence, but merely on probable conjecture, that St. Mark and St. Luke were endowed with the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost, as appears to have been the case with St. Paul's assistant Timothy<sup>a</sup>, and the deacons mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles<sup>b</sup>. For a disciple might possess the gift of miracles, be able to restore the sick, to speak languages which he had never learnt, and even be endowed with the spirit of prophecy, though  
his

<sup>a</sup> 2 Tim. i. 6.

<sup>b</sup> Acts vi. 3—8.

his writings were not inspired": a quality which we have no reason to ascribe to the works of a prophet, except, when he declares as such, that what he writes is inspired, and that he in those instances assumes that character. But this neither St. Mark nor St. Luke have declared in any part of their writings.

It has been objected to those, who have grounded their arguments for inspiration on the character of an Apostle's assistant, that according to those principles we must receive the genuine epistle of Clemens Romanus, and those of the other apostolic fathers as divine. Now this objection is carried too far, since there is a manifest difference between persons, who were simply contemporaries of the Apostles, and those who were their constant friends and companions. Yet it would be difficult to shew the justice of this conclusion, 'a disciple accompanied an apostle on his journies, therefore his writings are inspired.'

Another proof which has been given is much stronger than the former, viz. that the Apostles themselves have recommended these books as canonical. If that be true, all doubt of their canonical authority is removed. But which of the Apostles has given this recommendation or testimony, and where is it recorded? In their epistles, at least in respect to St. Luke, no trace is to be found. For those passages, in which St. Paul says, 'my Gospel,' have no reference to the Gospel of St. Luke, as I shall shew in the second part of this work. We cannot therefore alledge, in favour of St. Luke's Gospel, what Eusebius<sup>w</sup>, without taking it upon himself, relates in the name of others, 'they say (φασι) that St. Paul alludes to the Gospel of St. Luke when he speaks of his own Gospel, 'Agreeable to my Gospel.' St. John likewise who outlived all the Apostles, and to whose evidence appeal has been made for the arrangement of the canon, or at least for the authority of the three first Gospels, writes not a syllable on that subject either in his Gospel, or his Epistles.

When it is said, that the Apostles have verbally recommended to the Christians the reading this, or that parti-

<sup>a</sup> 1 Cor. xii. 8—11. 28, 29.

<sup>w</sup> Hist. Eccles. Lib. III. c. 4.

particular Gospel, the questions which naturally arise are 1st, What have they said, and have they declared them to be inspired? 2dly, How do we know that they have given this advice? They might have commended a book as containing genuine historical accounts, without vouching for its inspiration; and, when even this commendation is grounded not on the evidence of those, who heard it from the Apostles themselves, but on the uncertain accounts of later writers, the argument has little weight. Eusebius is the oldest, indeed the only collector of accounts, from whom we can derive information; an author, by no means prejudiced against St. Luke, for he expressly declares his writings to be inspired. He says that St. Luke has given proofs of a more spiritual, and sublime medical knowledge, which he had received from the Apostles in two books divinely inspired (*ἐν δύο θεοπνευστοῖς βιβλίοις*). But what testimonies of the Apostles is he able to produce in support of this assertion? Except the instance already mentioned, which appeared even to him to be an uncertain tradition, the whole evidence rests on the two following examples. In the twenty-fourth chapter of the third book he writes as follows, ‘they say (*φασί*) that St. John, who had till that time preached only by word, was induced to write a Gospel by the following motive. The three first Gospels, which were at that time universally known, he had, as is reported, accepted as genuine, and testified their truth (*ἀποδείξασθαι μὲν φασὶν ἀληθείαν αὐτοῖς ἐπιμαρτυρησάντα*); but found in them no account of the first years of Christ’s ministry, &c. It appears then that Eusebius did not take upon himself to vouch for the truth of this assertion, but relates merely the report of others: and even if no objection could be made to this passage on other grounds, the use of that suspicious word *φασί* is sufficient to render the evidence highly uncertain. For the reports of persons unknown without argument and without authority, can decide nothing on a subject of such consequence. Besides the motive here alledged to induce St. John to write his Gospel is quite different from that, which is usually

usually given, as will appear from the second part of this work. But, if we admit the whole relation to be certain, what inference is to be drawn from it? Not that those writings were inspired, but only that they were upon the whole historically true'.

The other instance is in the eighth chapter of the fifth book, where he makes the following quotation from Irenæus, 'after the death of Peter and Paul, Mark committed to writing what Peter had verbally taught, and Luke the companion of Paul composed a book of the Gospel which he had preached.' (Και Λουκας δε, ο ακου-  
λθος Παυλου, το υπ' εκεινου κηρυττομενον ευαγγελιον εν βιβλῳ κατεθετο). But this testimony amounts to nothing. To compose a Gospel from what had been preached by an Apostle, is not the same as being inspired by the Deity. Besides the relation of Irenæus is manifestly erroneous, for the Gospel of St. Luke must have been written during the life of St. Paul, since the Acts of the Apostles, which are a continuation of the Gospel, were finished before the death of the Apostle<sup>2</sup>: and we may remark of Irenæus in general that, though he is a very antient evidence, he is not always to be relied on, because his works contain many exceptionable passages. The observation of Tertullian<sup>3</sup>, which Lardner adds<sup>3</sup> to corroborate the above, 'nam et Lucæ digestum Paulo adscribere solent; capit magistrorum videri, quæ discipuli promulgarint,' affords as little or rather less satisfaction than the former instance<sup>4</sup>, especially when we consider that he makes a distinction between Apostles and Apostolic men<sup>5</sup>, calling those properly Gospels which were written by the former, viz, St. Matthew and St. John, and less valuing that, which alone was accepted by Marcion, the Gospel written by St. Luke.

The circumstances relating to the Gospel of St. Mark appear to be somewhat different. It will appear from the second part of this work, that according to a very antient tradition<sup>6</sup>, St. Peter having been informed that St. Mark had begun to write a Gospel at the request of the  
Roman

<sup>2</sup> Adv. Marcionem, Lib. iv. c. 5.

Roman Christians, expressed at the instigation of the Holy Ghost : his approbation of their zeal and thirst for knowledge, and commanded the Gospel of St. Mark to be read in the churches. I will go even a step further than others have done<sup>7</sup>, and shew that a passage in the second epistle<sup>8</sup> of St. Peter (an epistle indeed not included in the (ομολογουμενα) refers to the Gospel of St. Mark, which St. Peter promoted, and furnished the author with materials. St. Mark wrote then with the approbation and under the protection of an Apostle<sup>9</sup>, and so far he may be said to have written by divine authority. If inspiration can be ascribed to an author who by the mediate or immediate command of the Deity composes a work by the aid of his own natural abilities, in the same manner, as an historiographer is commissioned by his sovereign to write a history, St. Mark was undoubtedly inspired<sup>9</sup>; but from such inspiration it does not follow that he was infallible, and in some immaterial instances he seems to have erred. Inspiration in the usual sense of the word conveys a much higher notion, and implies not only a divine command to write, but immediate assistance from the Deity in writing, so as to secure the author from the danger of mistake : and in this literal and sublime meaning it is used by those, who with the utmost difficulty, and not seldom by unnatural explanations attempt to reconcile St. Mark with St. Matthew, or to shew that he is no where corrected by St. John. This peculiar inspiration, this supernatural aid and infallibility, is not to be inferred from the approbation or encouragement of St. Peter. Even if that opinion be just, (which I advanced the first, and by which I still abide, without knowing how many have acceded to it since the second edition of this work) that St. Peter alludes in his second epistle<sup>\*</sup> to the Gospel of St. Mark, no inference can be made in regard to its divine inspiration, but only to its general credibility and excellence, as being promoted and patronized by an

<sup>7</sup> Ch. i. 15.

<sup>\*</sup> Ch. i. 15. Σπουδασον δι' εκαστοτε εχειν υμεις μετα την εμην εξοδον, την ταυτην μνημην ποιησασθαι.

an Apostle. If a prophet, or an Apostle, should encourage me to write a history, for which I have already collected materials, and promised at the same time to assist and furnish me with accounts which he could attest as eye-witness, he would not by so doing communicate to me, and to my writings his divine inspiration. A communication of that nature is so extraordinary a fact, as to be inadmissible without the strongest evidence.

If my explanation of the passage be rejected, and we abide by the testimony of the antients, i. e. oral tradition, a century or two after the death of the Apostles, the evidence for St. Mark's inspiration is still less satisfactory. St. Peter is informed, that St. Mark writes a Gospel at the request of the Romans: he was therefore according to that account not the person, who first promoted the work; but at the instigation of the Holy Ghost, (a circumstance which we learn from writers who lived one or two hundred years <sup>10</sup> after the event), he testified his approbation: Of what? of the Gospel of St. Mark? By no means: he applauds only the zeal of the Roman converts. But he commands the Gospel to be read in the churches. This part of the tradition appears to be suspicious, and it remains a question whether the writings of the New Testament, which were at that time not collected into a volume, were publicly read in the churches, and formed a part of the Sunday service. But, if we admit it to be true, it is no argument of inspiration, and proves only that the Gospel of St. Mark was historically exact, and of general utility. We read in our own churches the Apocrypha, and the Liturgy, without supposing them to be inspired.

For the decision of this point then, we must have recourse at last, Protestants as well as Catholics, to the testimony of the antient church, which from the earliest ages has received the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke as canonical. This it probably would not have done, as it is contended, if the Apostles, Paul, Peter, and John, who were alive at their publication, had not declared them to be divine.

To



To do justice to this argument, we must take notice, that it rests the divinity of these writings not on the judgment of the church, but on the testimony of a fact. We are obliged daily to rely on the evidence of others in matters of fact, but to depend on the opinion of another, without examining the grounds of that opinion, would be a *præjudicium auctoritatis*; and we can have no reason to believe any church whatsoever, whether antient or modern, our own or a foreign one, to be infallible. To this must be added the difficulty of determining what is the church, for not every sect of Christians has received the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke; as the Nazarenes and Ebionites, for instance, adopted only the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew. If we reply, that we do not acknowledge that church to be the true one, we fall again into the circle, that was mentioned in the former section.

But this argument is founded not on the opinion of the church, but on its evidence of a fact, and that fact is, the actual declaration, which the Apostles must have made of the authority of these writings: and this evidence is not the evidence of a modern church, which cannot bear witness to the actions of the Apostles, but that of the antient contemporary church. If this church, it is contended, had not heard from the Apostles, that the writings of their assistants were divine, those writings would not have been received in the sacred canon, and if they had not been in the canon at the end of the first century, they would not have been received in the second and following centuries so generally, and without contradiction.

But here we have no evidence of a fact, that was actually seen or heard, or ever delivered on record, but only a conclusion from other facts, and is, what is called in law, an artificial proof. Besides, other objections might be made to the validity of this argument. Admitting the Apostles to have recommended these writings, it is no proof of their inspiration: and is it not possible, that the primitive church accepted them as works indispensable to a Christian, on account of the importance of their contents, and that by insensible degrees they acquired the character



character of being inspired? This question is indeed no argument, but in the total absence of historical accounts, it is sufficient to weaken the force of an argument founded on evidence merely negative; since not a syllable can be quoted to this purpose from the ancient church, and our authorities are taken from that of a later period.

Two circumstances must be added with respect to the Gospel of St. Luke, the one in its favour, the other in its disfavour.

1. Marcion, who lived in the first part, or toward the middle of the second century, and therefore about seventy or eighty years after the time when St. Paul and St. Luke were at Rome, rejects the other Gospels, and adopts only that of St. Luke. Marcion himself had been at Rome, and was able to derive the best information of what St. Paul had declared of that Gospel. Now the question is, whether it was the force of testimony, that induced him to give this Gospel so decided a preference? This we may certainly decide in the negative: for we know that Marcion paid no attention to the evidence and tradition of the church, and he adopted the Gospel of St. Luke, not because he believed it to be inspired, but because he believed it to be genuine, and less corrupted than the other Gospels. He rejected in the New Testament whatever was contrary to his own principles, and he preferred the Gospel of St. Luke, because with some few alterations, it contained the fewest contradictions to his own tenets. This circumstance therefore is of no weight.

2. The beginning of St. Luke's Gospel\* has been very frequently alledged as an argument against its inspiration. Now it does not appear to me that a diligent inquiry on the part of an author himself necessarily precludes inspiration, the object of which is not to reveal to a writer of an historical work facts totally unknown, but only to secure him from error; otherwise he would forfeit all pretensions to credibility unless he were believed to be inspired. Even Moses has composed the greatest part of the book of Genesis from ancient documents; the history of his own time he has written, not by a revelation

\* Ch. i. 1-4.

tion of things before unknown, but as eye-witness to the facts which he relates, and even quotes a war-song of the Amorites\*, in proof of a particular event. But on the other hand St. Luke himself makes no pretension to inspiration", and whoever reads his Gospel without prejudice will consider it as a human production. That expression in the preface, *v. g.* *ἐδοξε καμῶι*, affords no evidence of his having written by divine command, or even at the instigation of an Apostle. And this expression is so remarkable, that in order to cover the defect, the Gothic, and the old Latin translation in the Codex Veronensis of Blanchini, have added the words Holy Ghost, *placuit mihi et spiritui sancto*. To an historian then who writes in this manner we have no reason to ascribe, from the uncertain tradition of a later period, a supernatural endowment, which can only be believed on the surest authority.

Another objection which may be made to St. Mark, and in a still higher degree to St. Luke, are the contradictions found in their Gospels to the relations of St. Matthew and St. John, Apostles who were eye-witnesses of the facts, which they record. They differ indeed less frequently from the latter than from the former Apostle, because they have but little matter in common with his Gospel. Now, though it is true that the greatest part are only apparent contradictions, there are others again where so much art and finesse are displayed, to make the accounts coincide, that there is no room for any other conclusion, than that one of the Evangelists is mistaken. As we can hardly attribute an error to St. Matthew or St. John, we shall be obliged to allow, that the other Evangelists were capable of mistake, and I have found examples where St. John appears in a delicate manner to have corrected the faults of his predecessors. This last observation I shall have occasion to apply in the second part of this work, when I treat of the Harmony of the Gospels; and I have spoken of it at large in my History of the Resurrection, as well in the preface, as in the book itself. Should I live to publish my Translation of  
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\* Numbers xxi. 27.

the New Testament, which is now ready for the press, a still greater number of examples will be given in the notes to the four Evangelists. If the word inspiration therefore be taken in such a sense as to include infallibility, we can scarcely believe, that St. Mark and St. Luke were inspired. The violent methods which have been used to reconcile their accounts with those of the other Evangelists, and the insuperable difficulty, which has hitherto attended the harmony of the Gospels, have cast a dark shade on our religion, and the truth and simplicity of its history have been almost buried under the weight of explanations. No one has applied this objection with so much force, and so much danger to the Christian religion, as the anonymous author of the *Wolfsbüttel Fragments* published by Lessing, especially with respect to the Resurrection. But the greatest part of these objections are deprived of their force, if we allow the fallibility of these two Evangelists, nor resolve to defend with obstinacy a post, that is hardly to be maintained.

This concession is no disadvantage either to ourselves or the two Evangelists; the speeches which they have recorded of Christ and his Apostles make a part of their History, and we consider their contents, not as the sentiments of those who relate, but of those who delivered them. Though their Gospels were not inspired, they would retain their real excellence, and remain indispensable to every Christian. If St. Luke had not recorded events, which are unnoticed by the other Evangelists, we should have been ignorant of many important articles in the history of Christ, and that of John the Baptist. Even the commencement of his ministry, and the year of his death, could without the Gospel of St. Luke be determined with no precision. His *Acts of the Apostles* is one of the best written historical books, either of the Old or New Testament; and if we had been deprived of this document, we should not only have remained without knowledge of the rise and progress of the primitive church, a matter of great consequence in determining the

the truth of our religion, but without the means of explaining the epistles of St. Paul, on which the Acts of the Apostles throw the clearest light. Could therefore any one demonstrate, that St. Luke wrote without inspiration, and simply as a careful historian, according to the plan which he proposes in his preface, I should still read his Gospel, and Acts of the Apostles, with the same attention as at present: and we should have the particular advantage of being freed from difficulties, which are almost insurmountable. The chief historical objections which are drawn from profane authors have respect to St. Luke: and if we can resolve to abandon the inspiration of his writings, as well as those of St. Mark, we shall essentially serve the cause of our religion, and disarm our adversaries at once, by depriving them of that pretext, to deny the truth of Christianity, which they derive from contradictions not wholly to be removed<sup>12</sup>.

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## C H A P. IV.

### OF THE LANGUAGE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT<sup>1</sup>.

#### S E C T. I.

*The greatest part of the New Testament was written in Greek. Reason of its being written in that language.*

THE books of the New Testament in general were written originally in Greek, except the Gospel of St. Matthew, and the epistle to the Hebrews. The reason for excepting these books, which I believe to be translations from the Hebrew, will be given in the second part of this work, and may be found in the preface to my exposition of the epistle to the Hebrews.

It is obvious, that not any holiness, or peculiar prerogative of the Greek language, could have determined the Deity a priori to give it the preference, and that the canonical authority of a book of the New Testament has

no relation to the language in which it was written. This indeed has sometimes been asserted, and it has been argued on that ground, that the original of St. Matthew's Gospel, and of the epistle to the Hebrews, could not have been Hebrew. But where is that position to be found in the Bible, that every canonical book of the New Testament must have been written originally in Greek, or how can it be shewn from the nature of the thing itself? It is true, that whoever is persuaded, that the Gospel of St. Matthew, and the epistle to the Hebrews, exist not in a translation, but in the original, may contend that all the books of the New Testament were written in Greek: but this would be only an historical position, and could not be applied to these two excepted books, without arguing in a circle. This false conclusion has probably been occasioned in protestant countries by the following cause. In the public lectures<sup>2</sup> on dogmatical, and polemical Theology, it is assumed as a characteristic mark of the canonicity of a book of the Old Testament, that it be written in Hebrew or Chaldee. Now for the authority of the Old Testament we rely on the testimony of Christ and his Apostles, who have confirmed the canon of the Jews, of which all the books are written in those languages. This principle, the basis of which has been falsely understood, is transferred from the Old to the New Testament, which, as well as the former, has been supposed to have its canonical language: and hence has arisen that position received in dogmatical Theology, that every canonical book in the New Testament was written originally in Greek.

It is difficult to comprehend in what respect the language of the New Testament is related to its Divinity. The universal church, or, to use an expression of the Bible, the whole people of God, consisted not merely of persons who spoke Greek, but of nations who spoke a great variety of languages: the body of the church, into which the numerous heathen converts were engrafted, consisted of Jews, among whom were many thousands, who spoke not Greek, but Hebrew or Chaldee; perhaps  
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the greatest part of those who at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem fled to Pella, and other neighbouring cities of Syria. To argue therefore a priori (though arguments of that nature when applied to the Deity are generally without foundation) it seems becoming the wisdom of Providence to have permitted at least a part of the inspired writings to be written in the language, which was spoken by the mother church. But it is to no purpose to examine in what language the New Testament might have been written, and the only question of importance is, in what language it actually was written.

The supposition, that God has chosen in his wisdom the Greek language, as a vehicle of revelation, because it was at that time the language most generally known, is as little to the purpose, as the former argument. No language is so widely extended, as to be understood by a tenth part of the inhabitants of the globe; whatever then the Deity had adopted as a source of religious information, the greater part of mankind must have derived their knowledge from translations, and we know that the Christians of the East read the New Testament at a very early period in the Syriac, and those of Africa and the Western part of Europe in the Latin version. Besides, the duration of a language is itself limited, and that, which is at present the most general in Europe, may in a thousand years have ceased to be a living language; even the Greek, which was understood in Italy and Gaul, which in consequence of Alexander's victories was introduced into Egypt, and spread throughout the East, has been confined since the seventh century within a very narrow compass. Almost all Europe has lost the advantage of receiving it as the language of literature, and not only in the ages of ignorance, but even in the eighteenth century, we may complain of the neglect of Grecian learning. It might seem then not unworthy the wisdom of Providence to have chosen the Latin language, as the mean of revelation; and Hardouin has actually endeavored to prove that the New Testament was writ-

ten originally in that language. Another critic might for the same reason propose the Arabic, which since the seventh century has been spoken in a greater extent of country, than the Greek in its most flourishing period. But in this chain of reasoning a circumstance has been usually omitted, which entirely alters the nature of the argument. The language of the New Testament is so intermixed with Hebraisms, that many native Greeks might have found it difficult to understand it, or have been deterred from the attempt by the nature of the style. This at least is certain, that if Plutarch, and the philosophic Tacitus, who likewise was acquainted with the Greek, had been able to read the historical books of the Old Testament in the Greek translation, they would never have committed such gross, and sometimes ridiculous mistakes, relating to the Jewish nation; and, as that translation existed long before that period, it is highly probable that the style of the Septuagint, which is similar to that of the New Testament, was the cause of its not being read by the Greeks and Romans. It could hardly then be the intention of Providence in the choice of a language, to adopt any one in particular, because it was most generally known; since the divine Will not only might have been, but actually has been communicated to the greatest part of mankind through the medium of translations. We must consider it however as a blessing of Providence, that a language was adopted, which was intelligible to so many, and for the understanding of which so many critical helps are still remaining; though these are rather consequences of the New Testament's being written in Greek, since a divine revelation naturally induced mankind to cultivate the language in which it was delivered.

The true reason, why the greatest part of the New Testament was written in Greek, is simply this, that it was the language best understood both by writers, and readers. Had St. Paul written to a community in the Roman province of Africa, he might have written perhaps in Latin; but epistles to the inhabitants of Corinth, Galatia,



Galatia<sup>3</sup>, Ephesus, Philippi, and Thessalonica, to Timothy, Titus, and Philemon, from a native of Tarsus, could hardly be expected in any other language than Greek. The same may be said of the epistles of St. Peter, which are addressed to the Christians of different countries, who had no other language in common than the Greek; and likewise of the epistles of St. James, who wrote to Jews, that lived at a distance from Palestine, and were ignorant of Hebrew<sup>4</sup>. The native language of St. Luke, as well as of Theophilus, to whom he addressed his Gospel, and Acts of the Apostles, appears to have been Greek; and that St. John wrote his Gospel in that language, and not in Hebrew, is by no means a matter of surprise, since he wrote at Ephesus.

With respect to the epistle to the Romans, it may be asked indeed why St. Paul did not write in Latin? Now, whoever proposes this question must presuppose, that St. Paul was master of the Latin language in such a degree, as to find no difficulty in writing it, a matter which remains to be proved. I make no doubt, that St. Paul was acquainted with the Latin; but between understanding a language, and being able to write it, is a very material difference. As St. Paul was a native of Tarsus; his native language was Greek; he had travelled during several years through countries, in which no other language was spoken, and when he addressed the Roman centurion at Jerusalem, he spoke not Latin, but Greek. Is it extraordinary then, that in writing to the inhabitants of Rome he should have used a language, which was there so generally understood? It has been long remarked, that Greek was at that time as well known in Rome, as French in any court of modern Europe: that according to Juvenal<sup>5</sup> even the female sex made use of Greek as the language of familiarity and passion; and that in letters of friendship, Greek words and phrases were introduced with greater freedom, than French expressions in German letters, as appears from Cicero's epistles to Atticus, and from those of Augustus preserved in the  
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works of Suetonius<sup>b</sup>. To this must be added a material circumstance, that a great part of the Roman Christians consisted of native Jews, who were better acquainted with Greek, than with Latin, as either they themselves, or their ancestors, had come from Greece, Asia Minor, or Egypt, in which Greek was the language of the country. At least they read the Bible in that language<sup>c</sup>, as no Latin translation of the Old Testament at that time existed; and, the Christian church at that period consisting chiefly of Jews, the heathen converts in Rome were of course under the necessity of accustoming themselves to the Greek language. In short, St. Paul in his epistle to the Romans made use of a language, in which alone those who were ignorant of Hebrew, could read the Bible. What has been here advanced respecting the epistle to the Romans is equally applicable to the Greek of St. Mark, on the supposition that it was written at Rome.

To the above arguments may be added the example of Josephus, who, as well as the Apostles, was by birth a Jew. He even lived in Rome, which is more than can be said of St. Paul and St. Mark, who resided there only a certain time: he was likewise younger than either: he came to Italy at an age, which is highly suitable to the learning of a language, and previous to that period had spent several years in the Roman camp. The Jewish Antiquities, the History of the Jewish War, and the account of his own life, he wrote undoubtedly with a view of their being read by the Romans; and yet he composed all these writings in Greek. He expresses his motive for writing his Greek account of the Jewish war in the following terms<sup>c</sup>: “that having written in his native language (i. e. the Hebrew dialect at that time spoken) a history of the war, in order that Parthians, Babylonians, Arabians, Adiabenes, and the Jews beyond the Euphrates might be informed of those events, he was now resolved to write for the Greeks and Romans, who had

<sup>b</sup> Suetonius in Vita Claudii, cap. iv.

<sup>c</sup> Bell. Jud. Proœmium, sect. 2.

had not been engaged in the campaigns, a more certain account than had hitherto been given." The motives which induced Josephus to write in Greek, are full as applicable to St. Paul and St. Mark, and his example alone is sufficient to refute the objections of Hardouin, which shall be considered in the following section.

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S E C T. II.

*Hardouin's extraordinary hypothesis of a Latin Original.*

**T**HIS very learned, but at the same time whimsical critic, asserted in his commentary on the New Testament, that what we call the Latin translation is in fact the original, and that the Greek Testament is nothing more than an insignificant translation by an unknown hand. The late Baumgarten has written against this incredible supposition a treatise published in 1742, and entitled *Vindiciæ Textus Græci Novi Testamenti contra Harduinum*.

The opinion of Hardouin, which he himself has delivered in a confused, and sometimes contradictory manner; is, that all the writings of the Apostles were composed in Latin. He allows, that they might have written certain parts in the Greek language (*nonnulla Græce etiam fortassis*), and thinks it probable that the Gospel of St. Matthew, and perhaps even the other Gospels, with the Revelation of St. John, were written in Hebrew, in which case the Latin would be only a translation, which an amanuensis made in the presence of an Apostle, and which the Apostle himself corrected. In another passage he is of opinion that St. Paul, during the time of his imprisonment in Rome, translated into Latin his own epistles, which he had written originally in Greek. But, as the Greek and Hebrew originals, as written by the Apostles, are entirely lost, we have no other dependence than on the Latin Text, as the present Greek Testament is only an imperfect translation from the Latin by some

unknown author. He supposes likewise, that St. Paul had a Greek amanuensis, who wrote in Greek what the Apostle dictated in Latin, and this amanuensis he believes to have been Titus ; yet he afterwards abandons this opinion, says that Titus could not have been the amanuensis, as he had a Roman name, and that this extemporary translation could not be the text which we have at present. He makes a single exception to the epistle of Philemon, which he believes to have been written in Greek, but the original must have been accompanied with a Latin translation, as the epistle was addressed not only to Philemon, but also to his wife, who was named Appia, and therefore of Roman origin : but our present Greek epistle to Philemon is only a translation of the genuine Latin version, which was made by St. Paul himself.

To relate these opinions is at the same time to refute them. They contain a series of assertions, that are not only groundless, but contradictory to all antiquity ; to the accurate, and authentic accounts of Jerom, who having corrected the Latin version, published it as we have it at present ; and even to the catholic church, which it was the object of Hardouin to serve. Besides, the hypothesis itself is of so extraordinary a nature, that it would find difficulty to procure belief, though attested by the most credible witnesses. That Latin had become the current language at Corinth and Philippi, because Roman colonies had been planted there, and that in such a degree, as to make it necessary to write in Latin to the Corinthian and Philippian communities, is highly improbable ; but that Latin epistles were written to the inhabitants of Thessalonica, Ephesus, Colossæ, Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia<sup>d</sup>, exceeds the bounds of belief. A Greek epistle to Philemon, accompanied with a Latin translation for his wife, must really excite a smile, as it naturally suggests the question, whether the married couple, of which the husband spoke no Latin, and the wife no Greek, were not obliged to con-

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<sup>d</sup> 1 Pet. i. 1

duct their familiar conversation by the means of an interpreter? How extraordinary is the relation of two amanuenses, to which St. Paul dictated at the same time, of which the one wrote the language delivered by St. Paul, the other an extemporary translation; and how incredible to every one accustomed to the singular style of the Apostle! On a version made in this manner, no reliance could be placed, and if Hardouin means the present Vulgate, he degrades it to a much lower degree than seems to have been his real intention, since a version of this nature could never be put in competition with that, which we receive as the Vulgate, a translation on which time and attention was bestowed, and which, afterwards, by order of Pope Damasus, was revised and corrected by Jerom. And what increases the difficulty is St. Paul's singular and characteristic mode of writing, whose periods devoid of art, with long and numerous parentheses, betray a mind so full of its subject, that the style is often neglected, and sometimes replete with obscurity. A language delivered in this manner to translate instantly, and with accuracy, was surely beyond the power of any amanuensis, to whom a great part of the periods must have appeared unintelligible, before they were finished. But Hardouin has not been able to produce a single instance of an author, who was thus dictated to two amanuenses at the same instant: and the more we direct our attention to the times of the Apostles, the more incredible this assertion must appear, as no writer, who composed in Greek, could even think of a Latin translation, since the original itself was intelligible to Romans, as well as Greeks.

It is indeed difficult to determine with any degree of accuracy, what particular version is supposed by Hardouin to be the original text of the Apostles; and whichever we believe him to have meant, the hypothesis is attended in them all with equal difficulty. Catholic readers understand probably the Vulgate, which after being revised by the popes Pius the fourth and fifth, Sixtus the fifth, and Clement the eighth, was pronounced by the church, though

though in a sense quite different from that of Hardouin, to be authentic. But this supposition involves too great an absurdity, as the Vulgate has been universally received as a translation from the Greek, and Jerom himself relates, in what manner he revised and corrected it. If he means the old Latin version, which existed before the time of Jerom, the point remains still undetermined, as that learned father speaks not only of copies which differed in various readings from each other, but of great numbers of even totally distinct translations. If this really be the meaning of Hardouin, he attacks the church of Rome in a more severe and immediate manner than was ever done even by a Protestant, and argues against the authority of at least six popes, and the decisions of the council of Trent. If an antient Latin text in the possession of the church before the time of Jerom was the original work of the Apostles, and the Greek Testament only an insignificant translation, it was the highest pitch of folly to set aside the genuine original, to take measures for procuring a faithful translation, and in order to render this translation as correct as possible, to compare it carefully with the Greek, which was itself only a version of no value. The object which Hardouin had in view in composing his commentary, is likewise a matter of uncertainty, and, as it appeared not till after his death, suspicions have been entertained by many that he was a secret enemy to the Christian religion. But without further inquiring into his motives, let us examine the arguments alledged in support of his hypothesis,

1. "The Latin Language was better understood in the provinces of the Roman empire than the Greek; it was understood even at Jerusalem, since an inscription was written in Latin on the cross of Christ."

But Hardouin cannot deny that Greek was spoken in Greece and Asia Minor, and that the Roman colonists who settled at Philippi and Corinth were obliged, in order to converse with the natives, to learn their language. No one will deny that Latin was understood by many persons in Jerusalem, but Hardouin weakens the force of his

his own argument by adding that the Latin inscription was written on the cross on account of the foreigners who came from Italy\*. The Latin used in a provincial court of justice, especially in passing sentence, was a mark of subjection to the Romans, but no proof that Latin was understood by the province at large. This argument is therefore inapplicable to all the epistles of St. Paul and to most of the other books of the New Testament. The province of Egypt had not long been reduced under Roman authority, and Greek still continued to be spoken, though the country was subject to Rome. If St. Luke therefore wrote his Gospel in that country, it was reasonable to suppose that he would write in Greek, and equally so whether he wrote in Asia Minor, Palestine, or Greece. The Jews in general, who lived scattered in the different parts of the Roman empire, spoke that language: the epistle therefore of St. James, cannot be ranked amongst those writings which might be supposed to have been originally in Latin; and as the main body of the Christian communities, not excepting those in Rome, consisted of Jews, the argument of Hardouin loses all its weight, even when applied to the Gospel of St. Mark, and the epistle to the Romans.

2. "The Deity must have foreseen that the Latin language would in after ages become more general, and it is therefore reasonable to believe that he inspired the New Testament in that language."

Now this is to apply a weak dogmatical argument to a question that is merely historical; no reasoning a priori can determine what actually has or has not happened, and our knowledge is much too confined to draw the presumptive conclusion that those measures which appear to us the best, are the measures adopted by the Deity. The question still remains to be decided, whether Latin, on the whole, and taking each century into the account, has been more general than Greek. For a more particular answer to his argument, I refer my readers to the treatise of Baumgarten, who very properly observes that

Hardouin

Hardouin has taken not the least notice of the Greek church.

3. "St. Paul dictated his epistle to the Romans to a person whose name was Tertius<sup>f</sup>: now this is a Roman name, and the Tertii were a family of great distinction in Rome: consequently the epistle must have been written in Latin. And St. Paul mentions the name of the writer with that very design, that the Romans might not be surpris'd that a Jew who was a native of Tarsus had written in Latin, and not, as might have been expected, in Hebrew or Greek."

No conclusion can be drawn from a name, especially in those ages, when foreigners adopted Roman names in honour of their patrons, and no one will suppose that Josephus was a Roman because he had the prænomen Flavius. Yet I readily grant that Tertius was a Roman, and it is not improbable that St. Paul chose him for his amanuensis on the very account that his person and his writing were known to the Romans. But does it follow that Tertius was enabled to write the Greek which the Apostle dictated? Still more extraordinary is Hardouin's own confession that the Romans might have been reasonably surpris'd if they had received a Latin epistle, and that it was natural to suppose St. Paul would write Greek. He seems even to doubt whether the Apostle could have written a Latin epistle at that time without assistance: in which case, it was more reasonable to believe that he wrote in Greek.

4. "The epistle to the Romans was written at Corinth, a Roman colony, on whose very coins may be seen the Latin inscription Col. Cor. He wrote likewise in the house of Caius<sup>g</sup>, whose name is Latin, and consequently the epistle to the Romans must have been written in that language."

Now it neither follows, that Latin was spoken in the house of Caius, because he had a Roman name, nor that Latin was the language of the city, because the coins had a Latin inscription, as this circumstance was only a token  
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<sup>f</sup> Rom. xvi. 22.

<sup>g</sup> Rom. xvi. 23.



that Corinth enjoyed the privileges of a Roman colony. But admitting that Latin was the Language spoken by Caius, we cannot suppose that St. Paul preferred that language merely out of compliment to his host. This argument is a contradiction to the preceding, since if St. Paul was unable to write Latin without assistance, he would have hardly attempted it for so trifling a reason.

5. "The style of the Latin Testament is smooth and elegant, whereas that of the Greek Testament is rough and impure: consequently the latter is the translation, and not the former."

This is the first instance of a critic's pronouncing the style of the Vulgate, especially before it was corrected by Jerom, to be smooth and elegant. But in the Greek Testament there are several books, especially the Acts of the Apostles, that are written, with exception to certain Hebraisms, in a very tolerable style, and the language of St. Paul's epistles is not only fluent, but if I may continue the metaphor, even rapid and violent. This weak argument of Hardouin has given rise to a remark of the late Baumgarten, which ought not to be omitted. The style of the Vulgate in every book of the New Testament is precisely the same, whereas in the Greek the peculiar manner of each writer is distinctly visible; the uniformity therefore of the Vulgate shews it to be a translation, and the characteristic modes of writing prove the Greek Testament an original.

6. "The Greek Testament contradicts in several instances the catholic Church, and the Heretics have constantly appealed to it in proof of their doctrines, whereas the Vulgate is purely catholic."

7. "It was more easy to collect the Latin books of the New Testament in the single city of Rome, than Greek books dispersed in distant provinces."

The collection of these writings has no connexion with the present question, which relates simply to the origin of the several parts. But we may observe in reply to Hardouin, that Greek writings could as easily be collected at Ephesus by St John, who outlived the rest of  
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the Apostles, as Latin writings could have been collected at Rome.

8. "The Greek manuscripts differ very materially from each other, whereas no difference can be found in the editions of the Vulgate."

It is really inconceivable how Hardouin could make so extraordinary an assertion. We shall find in the sequel that St. Jerom describes the Latin manuscripts which existed in that period as differing so materially from each other, that the variations could hardly be explained on the principle of different readings, but were rather the result of distinct translations, the number of which St. Jerom reckoned to be upwards of seventy. But, after the sovereign Pontiff had ordered the manuscripts to be collated, and a correct edition to be published, with a strict command that no other should be used, that the subsequent copies of the Vulgate were similar to each other, may be explained without assuming the hypothesis of the Vulgate being the original, which was never believed by Pope Damasus himself. Yet this authorized Vulgate stands by no means in perfect harmony either with the different manuscripts, or the still older Latin versions which have been published by Blanchini.

The arguments of Hardouin, which have been hitherto mentioned, have not even the shadow of probability, but the following has at least the appearance of a foundation.

9. "St. Paul in the epistle to Philemon, makes allusions to the names of Philemon and Onesimus, which can be expressed only in Greek: if the present epistle therefore were the original the words most proper for expressing the allusions would have been retained. For instance, v. 1. Φιλημονι τῷ φιλητῷ, and v. 10, 11. Ονησιμον τον ποτε σοι ανονησιμον, νυνι δε σοι και εμοι ονησιμον. But in the present case we find Φιλημονι τῷ αγαπητῷ, and Ονησιμον τον ποτε σοι αχρησον, where the paronomasia is totally lost: we must therefore conclude that the epistle contained in our canon is nothing more than a translation from the Latin, in which these allusions could not be expressed."

This objection is not devoid of ingenuity; but the  
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text, as described by Hardouin, would convey rather the language of a punster, than that of a refined writer, who always avoids a similarity of sounds that might be offensive to a delicate ear. And it still remains a matter of very great doubt, whether St. Paul by the word *αγαπητος* intended to make allusion to the name of Philemon.

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## S E C T. III.

*The style of the New Testament is Hebraic Greek like that of the Septuagint.*

EVERY man acquainted with the Greek language, who had never heard of the New Testament, must immediately perceive, on reading only a few lines, that the style is widely different from that of the classic authors. The disputes, which have been conducted with so much warmth in modern times concerning its purity, have arisen either from a want of sufficient knowledge of the Greek, the prejudices of pedantry and school-orthodoxy, or the injudicious custom of choosing the Greek Testament as the first book to be read by learners of that language, by which means they are so accustomed to its singular style, that in a more advanced age they are incapable of perceiving its deviation from the language of the classics.

The New Testament was written in a language at that time customary among the Jews, which may be named Hebraic Greek, the first traces of which we find in the translation of the Seventy, which might be more properly called the Alexandrine<sup>a</sup> version. We find this character in all the books of the New Testament in a greater or less degree, but we must not therefore conclude that they possess an uniformity of style. The harshest Hebraisms, which extend even to grammatical errors in the government of cases, are the distinguishing marks of the book of Revelation; but they are accompanied with tokens of genius and poetical enthusiasm, of which every

every reader must be sensible who has taste and feeling ; there is no translation of it, which is not read with pleasure even in the days of childhood, and the very faults of grammar are so happily placed, as to produce an agreeable effect. The Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark have strong marks of this Hebraic style ; the former has harsher Hebraisms than the latter, the fault of which may be ascribed to the Greek translator, who has made too literal a version <sup>h</sup>, and yet the Gospel of St. Mark is written in worse language, and in a manner that is less agreeable. The epistles of St. James and St. Jude are somewhat better, but even these are full of Hebraisms, and betray in other respects a certain Hebrew tone. St. Luke has in several passages written pure and classic Greek, of which the four first verses of his Gospel may be given as an instance : in the sequel, where he describes the actions of Christ, he has very harsh Hebraisms, yet the style is more agreeable than that of St. Matthew or St. Mark : in the Acts of the Apostles he is not free from Hebraisms, which he seems to have never studiously avoided, but his periods are more classically turned, and sometimes possess beauty devoid of art. St. John has numerous, though not uncouth, Hebraisms both in his Gospel and epistles, but he has written in a smooth and flowing language, and surpasses all the Jewish writers in the excellence of narrative. St. Paul again is entirely different from them all ; his style is indeed neglected, and full of Hebraisms, but he has avoided the concise and verse-like construction of the Hebrew language, and has upon the whole a considerable share of the roundness of Grecian composition. It is evident that he was as perfectly acquainted with the Greek manner of expression as with the Hebrew, and he has introduced them alternately, as either the one or the other suggested itself the first, or was the best approved.

In the same manner, and for the same reason, the style of the Septuagint is different in different books of the Old Testament<sup>3</sup> : in some of the historical writings, in the prophets and the Psalms the language is the worst :

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<sup>h</sup> For instance, ch. xxviii. 1.

it is much better in the books of Moses, the translator of which abides indeed religiously by the Hebrew letter, but seems to have been master of the Greek, and has introduced in various instances the most suitable, and best chosen expressions; but of all the books of the Septuagint the style of the Proverbs is the best, where the translator has clothed the most ingenious thoughts in as neat and elegant language, as was ever used by a Pythagorean sage, to express his philosophic maxims<sup>1</sup>. But even this book is very far from being destitute of Hebraisms, though the structure of the Hebrew verses approaches much nearer to the Grecian manner, than any other part of the Bible, for the Proverbs of Solomon have in all respects a strong analogy to the Pythagorean sentences.

It is easy to account for the introduction and use of this Hellenistic dialect, as it is sometimes called, among the Jews, and it was very natural that those, who by living among Greeks acquired their language, should speak it with a mixture of Hebraisms. Every man, who learns a foreign language merely by practice, retains of course the idioms of his native language, and even those, who have learned by the rules of grammar, find it difficult to speak with such accuracy, as never to betray their origin. And what still contributed to the retaining of the Hebrew idiom among the Jews was their living not scattered singly, but in large communities, among the Greek nations. Syrian and Egyptian kings, as we are informed by Josephus, invited considerable colonies to settle in different cities, employing them sometimes even as a sort of garrison, when they suspected the fidelity of the natives, and at Alexandria the number of the Jews exceeded all description. Now, when a large body of men live together in a foreign country, they necessarily introduce more of their own language into that, which they have learnt from the natives, than those, who living singly in the midst of foreigners hear their language alone, and are more exposed to ridicule, if they make mistakes. The Old Testament was translated into Greek by the Jews of Alex-

<sup>1</sup> See my *Programma on the Septuagint*, p. 47 4.

Alexandria; and translations give in numberless instances occasion of transferring the idiom of the translated language to that of the translator, even where he has no design to make a literal version, many of the expressions, which are at present current in Germany, were many years ago unknown, having been introduced and incorporated into the language in consequence of the numerous translations from the English and the French : foreign idioms are still observed even in those which we continue to make, and in the very political papers it is easy to discover, whether an article was taken from an English, a French, or a Swedish original. If this happens then to those, who translate into their own language, it must have happened in a much higher degree to native Jews, who translated into Greek, especially when so sacred and so important a book as the Bible was the subject, where they held themselves bound to adhere with more than necessary exactness to the words of the original. The structure therefore of the Hebrew verses, which deviates so widely from the roundness of the Greek periods, remained unaltered, and hence arose a species of Greek, which differed both from the style of the natives, and from that which perhaps the Jews themselves would have used, had they been original writers. The continual reading of this version contributed to confirm the Jews in the use of the Hellenistic dialect, which had been already introduced : the writers of the New Testament, if we except St. Luke, were all of them Jews, and of these St. Paul was the only Apostle who was not a native of Palestine; yet he was educated in the school of Gamaliel, and lived many years in Jerusalem. Is it wonderful therefore that we find in the New Testament the same kind of language? Finally, the Gospel of St. Matthew was translated from the Hebrew, and the speeches of Christ, which are recorded by the Evangelists, were, unless we contradict the certain accounts of history, delivered in the Hebrew, or Aramæan<sup>s</sup> dialect.

Yet with all their similarity, the Greek of the New Testament, and that of the Septuagint are not perfectly  
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the same. The language had undergone, between the periods in which those books were written, several alterations, which chiefly affected the unclassical expressions in common use among the Jews: many words, which are either not to be found in the Septuagint, or are there used in a different meaning, became afterwards general; to the antient Hebraisms were added various Syriacisms; as Syriac was the language of Galilee, and the Greek language itself had undergone a change under the Roman government, which introduced many Latin words, and Latin expressions<sup>\*</sup>.

The Jews of Germany, Poland, and some other countries, have long been in possession of a language that is called the Jewish German<sup>7</sup>, which differs from the usual German in a higher degree, than the Greek of the New Testament from that of the classic authors. This example may serve to account for the origin of the Hellenistic dialect, which may with equal propriety be entitled Jewish Greek, though the difference between Jewish and Classic Greek is less sensible than between Jewish and Classic German. In the antient Latin versions of the New Testament we find examples of Jewish Latin, or rather Syriac Latin, which exceed in harshness the most striking instances of Jewish Greek in the New Testament. Lastly, if we reflect on the Latin compositions, which are often made not only in the Grammar schools, but even by the learned, or peruse the French writings of those, who are strangers to France, we shall cease to wonder that the Jews in writing Greek retained the peculiarity of the Hebrew.

<sup>\*</sup> See the examples *σκανδαλισθαι* and *συνειδησις* in my *Programma* on the Septuagint, p. 19—22. This subject will be examined at large in a following section.

## S E C T. IV.

*Whether the peculiar style of the New Testament is such a fault, as militates against its divine inspiration. Disputes concerning the purity of the style of the New Testament.*

THE peculiar style of the New Testament has given rise to many and serious disputes, which seem by degrees to have subsided, and these disputes have been extended even to the very name of a fact which cannot be denied; whether that which I have entitled Jewish Greek is properly a separate dialect, whether this dialect should be called Hellenistic, because the Grecian Jews were called *ελληνισται* in opposition to those who used the Hebrew, or to speak more properly, the Aramæan language, and whether there is not a sort of impropriety in the use of the name itself. Disputes relative to words, which every man may use at pleasure, if he properly defines them, I have neither inclination to relate nor to determine.

The contest has been conducted with respect to the fact itself with all possible seriousness, and many, who have contended that the Greek of the New Testament is as purely classical as that of the Attic writers, have condemned as impious heretics those, who have dared to dissent. It has been asserted that the contrary implied an imperfection inconsistent with divine inspiration, and that men capable of such a doctrine<sup>1</sup> were not only impious, but even guilty of the sin against the Holy Ghost. But the advocates for this divine purity<sup>2</sup> have not only betrayed their ignorance of the Greek language, but a high degree of pedantry in estimating the accuracy of language beyond its proper value. This last mistake has happened not only to the warm and partial friends, but likewise to the enemies of Christianity, who from the time of Celsus to the eighteenth century have maintained that a book written in such language is neither divinely inspired nor deserving attention and respect.

Both parties have carried their zeal and their sentiments



to too great a length, and they would hardly consider an absolute purity of style, and a total absence of foreign words of such importance, as to make the contrary a crime, if they would condescend to quit the language of the schools for the language of common life, or turn their attention from the language of the classics to those, which are in modern use. The German in the beginning of this century abounded in such a manner with foreign words, which were introduced more especially from the French, that apprehensions were justly entertained that the language might be totally disfigured. The accuracy of the learned Gottsched endeavoured to set bounds to this popular current, and the German has in a great measure been restored to its native purity: yet no one can deny that numbers of foreign words are still retained, which it would favour of affectation to banish. The Latin which is written by the modern Literati, even by those who are able to write with classic elegance, does and must contain various words and turns of expression, which would be striking to Cicero and Cæsar. Nay in certain instances it is necessary to speak bad Latin, if we would be understood by our hearers, as in Poland for instance, where the language of the classics is unknown. Modern languages have almost all of them a mixture of foreign expressions, and the learned words, which have been consecrated to terms of art, it would occasion the greatest obscurity to remove. In countries where the Roman civil law has been received, the technical terms, which were used by the Roman lawyers, have been necessarily admitted into the courts of justice, and hence arose a dialect, which may be termed the language of the law. Now the Jews had a language of religion, and as time and custom had consecrated the expressions, which are used in the Septuagint, it is no wonder that a similar mode of writing was retained in the New Testament.

Nor must the persons be forgotten, for whom the New Testament was more immediately written. The body of the church consisted of Jews, and the heathens were only branches,

branches, as St. Paul expresses it<sup>1</sup>, which were engrafted on the tree. St. Paul himself, the Apostle of the Gentiles, was accustomed to preach the Gospel in places frequented by the Jews, and he introduced by their means the Christian religion among the Gentiles. Another considerable part of the Christian communities consisted of such, as were neither native nor circumcised Jews, but were pious persons and proselytes to the doctrine of Moses. The number of these pious persons, as they were termed, of the female sex was very great, and we find *σεβομεναι γυναikes* mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles both in a good and bad sense. The Lydia mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles<sup>m</sup> was not a Jewess but a proselyte, and when the Jews at Antioch in Pisidia resolved to raise a persecution against Paul and Barnabas, the first measure they took was to bring over the devout and honourable women to their party, *παρωτρυναν τας σεβομενας γυναικας και τας ευσχημονας, και τας πρωτες της πολεως*<sup>n</sup>. In this sentence those of the female sex are mentioned the first in order, it is therefore probable that they were the wives of the chief magistrates and leading men in the city. With this correspond the accounts given by Josephus, who speaking of the great numbers of Jews that resided in Damascus says that almost all the women, even those who had Gentile husbands, were Jewish proselytes<sup>o</sup>. The first Christian communities consisted in a very great measure of such proselytes, who by continual intercourse with native Jews, and the constant reading of the Septuagint, were accustomed to Jewish Greek. It would be difficult to determine what proportion the number of heathen converts bore to the community at large; but it is certain that by far the greater part consisted of Jews and Jewish proselytes at the time the New Testament was written, though the Gentiles in a somewhat later period flocked in greater numbers to the religion

<sup>1</sup> Rom. xi. 24.<sup>m</sup> Ch. xvi. 14.<sup>n</sup> Acts xiii. 50.

<sup>o</sup> Josephus de Bell. Jud. Lib. II. cap. xx. § 2. See also Antiquit. Lib. XX. cap. ii. § 4, 5, where he gives an account of the conversion of Izates king of Adiabene, at the persuasion of his mother Helena.

gion of Christ. Even in Italy the chief part of the Christian converts in the first century were persons of this description, as appears from the earliest Latin versions of the New Testament which are so full of Hebraisms and Syriacisms, that, among all the translators of the New Testament in that period, no one could have been a Roman by birth, or by education.

If writings therefore were composed for communities of this nature, or epistles immediately addressed to them, could it be considered as a fault to use the language, which they best understood, and was it necessary for the writer to avoid such Hebraisms as naturally occurred? Would it not have been ridiculous in St. Paul, who was probably well acquainted with the classic Greek, to have used, in writing to such persons, the same language as he would have spoken before an Athenian audience? It is affectation, and in some measure an affront to the reader to seem ashamed of a language, which he speaks in common with the writer: and it is highly probable that, if the New Testament had been written with Attic purity, it would have been unintelligible to many of its earliest readers, who had never read the doctrines of religion in any other than Jewish Greek.

But I am far from intending to assert that the Hebraisms of the New Testament are in no case to be considered as defects. Several harsh idioms of this nature, especially in the translated Gospel of St. Matthew, have occasioned obscurity, and sometimes mistakes<sup>p</sup>, and the Jewish readers of the New Testament would have been no losers if the style had been every where the same as in the Acts of the Apostles, and in the epistle to the Hebrews. Admitting even that not only a few single instances, but that the Hebraisms in general were blemishes in the New Testament, and that what I have advanced above is of no weight, yet no inference can be thence deduced against divine inspiration. A series of repeated miracles would have been necessary, if Apostles born and educated in Judæa had written without Hebraisms, and these

<sup>p</sup> Matth. xii. 36. *ἐν μὲν ἀγορᾷ.*

these miracles would have produced an useless, and even prejudicial effect. Had the New Testament been written with classic purity, it must have excited suspicion of a forgery, and I candidly confess that I should be put to a very severe trial, if I found in these writings the language of Xenophon or Plutarch, and were still bound to believe them genuine. The singularity of their style has been used in a preceding chapter as a proof of their authenticity, and the argument was strengthened by the circumstance, that the Apostles and Evangelists have each retained their own peculiar mode of writing. The same remark may be extended to the authors of the Old Testament, where we find that Divine Inspiration has left each writer in possession of his particular style and even faults of language. Ezra wrote in a manner different from that of Isaiah, and Isaiah from that of Moses, or the author of the beautiful and inimitable book of Job. The prophecies of Isaiah, so important to the Christian religion, were manifestly written in the silver age of the Hebrew language, and his very style affords sufficient proof that they belong not to the brazen age, in which were composed the writings of Ezra, Nehemiah, Haggai, Zachariah, and Malachi. That the book of Job is not to be referred to the brazen or iron age, every critic in the Hebrew must perceive at once from the language, which naturally leads us to suppose that Moses was the author. The same effect then, which inspiration produced in the Old Testament, might of course be expected in the New, and it is reasonable to suppose that each writer would retain those peculiarities of language, to which he was the most accustomed.

In short, a classical or unclassical style has no more influence on the Divinity of the New Testament, than the elegance or inelegance of the hand in which it is written, and the accuracy or inaccuracy of the pronunciation with which it is uttered. Whoever is accustomed to write a bad hand would certainly not improve it by inspiration, but admitting the fact, it would have this unfortunate consequence, that no one accustomed to the hand would  
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in its improved state believe it to be genuine. There is no reason to believe that inspiration would amend a faulty pronunciation, and the writers of the different parts of the Bible have undoubtedly spoken in the same manner, both before and after the effusions of the Holy Ghost. If these failings then are consistent with supernatural endowments, I can see no reason for drawing an argument against the Divinity of the New Testament from its Hebraisms, or even from its grammatical errors.

The mode of reasoning which is used in Georgii Vindiciæ N. T. ab Hebraïsmis, is so extremely weak, that most readers would readily dispense with a refutation; I will refer therefore to a note what in the former editions of this Introduction had been placed in the text<sup>1</sup>. Yet the arguments, which this critic has produced, are as good as any that can be given, with exception perhaps to that, which has been already confuted, that what is inspired by God must have every species of perfection, and consequently purity of language.

A circumstantial account of the controversy which has been carried on relative to this subject belongs rather to the province of Literary History<sup>2</sup>, and it may be sufficient

<sup>1</sup> St. Paul, 1 Cor. xiv. 11. condemns unmeaning and barbarous language: consequently it could not be admitted into the Holy Scriptures.

Answer. Βαρβαρος signifies in that passage a man who speaks in a foreign language.

2. The Apostles addressed those foreigners who came to Jerusalem on the feast of Pentecost *ἰδιὰ διαλεκτῶν*.

Answer. Consequently they spoke to the Grecian Jews not pure but Jewish Greek.

3. The books of the Old Testament are pure Hebrew, therefore those of the New Testament are pure Greek.

Answer. All the books of the O. T. are not written in pure Hebrew: the later writings abound with Chaldaisms, and the books of Moses are not free from Egyptian words.

4. God is the author of the distinction of languages, and being a God of order cannot be supposed to confound them.

Answer. The Deity has permitted the human faculties to take their natural course; man therefore is the author of language, unless we suppose a needless multiplication of miracles.

cient here to mention a work, in which are contained the writings of the chief authors, who have engaged in this dispute. J. Rhenferd published at Leuwarden in 1702 a treatise under the following title: *Dissertationum philologico-theologicarum de stilo Novi Testamenti syntagma, quo continentur Jo. Olearii, Jo. Henr. Bœcleri, Seb. Pfochenii, Jo. Cocceii, Bath. Bebelii, Mosis Solani, Mart. Petr. Cheitomæi, Jo. Henr. Hottingeri, Jo. Leusdeni, Jo. Vorstii, Andr. Kesteri, et Jo. Jungii de hoc genere libelli.* Of this collection there have been since published separately, Olearius de stilo N. T. Bœclerus de lingua N. T. originali in 1721, with the remarks of the late Schwartz, and Leusdenus de dialectis N. T. singulatim de ejus Hebraïsmis, in 1754, with notes by Fischer. To these may be added C. G. Georgii *Libri tres vindiciarum N. T. ab Hebraïsmis*, 1732, and his *Hierocriticon N. T. sive libri tres de stilo N. T. quibus dialectus N. T. Attica vindicatur*, 1733.

But of all the writers, who have attempted to vindicate the purity of the Greek Testament, no one has more distinguished himself for Grecian literature than Palairer, a French minister at Dornyk, who published at Leyden in 1752, *observationes philologico-criticæ in sacros novi fœderis libros.* His object, as he himself expresses it in the preface, was to rescue the clear and certain precepts of Christ from the thick darkness of Hebraïsms, Syriaïsms, Chaldaïsms, Solœcïsms, and Barbarïsms, in which, according to various critics, they were enveloped. But instead of answering his end, he has fallen into that error, which has been the usual lot of those, who have defended the question. And many of the examples which he has taken from the classic authors, and applied to passages in the New Testament, in order to free them from the charge of Hebraïsms, stand themselves in need of demonstration, since the common acceptation of the words in dispute may often serve to explain the collated instances both in the New Testament and the classic writers<sup>4</sup>. Yet he has made many excellent remarks from the Greek authors, for the more laudable and useful purpose of explaining

plaining the New Testament itself, and he deserves therefore in this respect an honourable rank among the best commentators.

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S E C T. V.

*Hebraisms, Rabbinisms, Syriaisms, Chaldaisms, Arabisms.*

EVERY man who has read the Greek Testament, knows that it contains a variety of Hebrew words, such as *αμην αλληλουια*, but single words <sup>1</sup> are trifles in comparison with sentences. The whole arrangement of the periods is regulated according to the Hebrew verses, (not those in Hebrew poetry, but such as are found in the historical books, and are always closed with *Silluk cum Soph Pasuk*) which are constructed in a manner directly opposite to the roundness of Grecian language, and, for want of variety, have an endless repetition of the same particles. In cases where a native Greek, would have introduced, as the connexion required, perhaps several particles, the writers of the New Testament are obliged to supply their place with the single conjunction *και*, which they repeat as often as the Hebrew writers their *Vau præfixum*, that gives the structure of their periods a tedious uniformity<sup>2</sup>. For the same reason we find

<sup>1</sup> Huic oratorum et eloquentiæ defectui tribuendum existimem, quod periodorum conformatione et artificio universa lingua Hebraica caret, quod ita peculiare Hebræis est, ut Hebraica quantumvis pure et eleganter Græce reddita, barbarum tamen quid Græcis auribus sonent, nisi totus orationis habitus mutetur. Faciamus periculum in versione LXX virorum; pro Hebraïsmis, locutionibusque Alexandrinis, verba optima et exquisitissima substituamus: vereor tamen ut vel tum satis Græca futura sit oratio. Unde qui Græcis probari legique cupiebat, Josepho alia tenenda ratio, ac licet ex solis se historiam antiquam hausisse sacris literis profiteretur, alio prorsus scribendi genere utendum fuit: nec forte tam ignari rerum Judaicarum fuissent exteri, qui Græce ea in versione Alexandrina habebant, nisi hæc ipsa versionis barbaries aures Græcas magis eliam quam nostras lædens a legendo deteruisset. Prolixiores enim



find that *וְ* occurs so frequently, though many with pious simplicity have discovered in that expression an emphasis suggested by the Holy Ghost. But if this were its real destination, it is used in numberless examples, where it ought to have been omitted, and omitted where it ought to have been used. The origin of this term, which is falsely considered as emphatical, is obvious to every man acquainted with the Oriental languages. Every language has superfluous particles, which, though not devoid of force at their first introduction, yet by abuse and an useless repetition have gradually lost all meaning, but are still retained, as they sometimes give a kind of harmony to the period, and the ear once accustomed to the sounds would sensibly perceive their absence. Of this nature is the Hebrew word *וְהִנֵּה*, which in imitation of the Septuagint is generally translated ‘Behold,’ though every man acquainted with the Hebrew grammar knows that it cannot be the imperative of *הִנֵּה*

Vidit. It corresponds to the Arabic particle *هنا* Ibi, which expresses the same meaning as if we exclaimed ‘there!’ and at the same time pointed with the finger: but *هنا* is used seldom by the Arabs, whereas the *וְהִנֵּה* of the Hebrews is continually introduced, and is in reality a pleonasm. This term can be more easily rendered in the German language than in the Greek, and *וְהִנֵּה הַגִּבּוֹר* may be given with literal accuracy without being offensive to modern ears; yet as a too frequent repetition would

enim periodos, cum concinnitate et perspicuitate sonoras, earumque miram et numeri et reliquæ distributionis varietatem, quæ sarietati non tam legentium quam audientium occurrit, oratoribus debuisse Græcia, ejusque imitatrix Roma videtur: cujus concinnitatis si multum in Europæas linguas transfusum est, meminerimus has omnes olim Latina tanquam dicendi scribendique magistra uti. At Hebraica lingua breves amat periodos, non magna varietate, utpote quæ in tanta particularum egestate vix teneri possit; numeri aut nullam omnino curam suscipit, aut in pœsi nostro quidem carmine solutionem perbreve tamen et concisum amat.

Michælis Præfat. in Lowth Prælect. de pœsi Hebr. p. 53.

See also Michaelis Arabic Grammar <sup>2</sup>, p. 235.

would be disagreeable, and favour too much of the Hebrew idiom, it is as pardonable in a translator to omit it, as the pleonastic quidem of the Latins, and I have actually availed myself of this indulgence in my translation of the Bible. But the Seventy either considering it as an expression of Emphasis, or unable to disengage themselves of a word, to which they were accustomed in the Hebrew, have preserved the use of it with too religious fidelity, and having no word in Greek which properly corresponded had recourse to the imperative *ιδε*, a term, that being once introduced formed by degrees a necessary part of Jewish Greek, and was of course employed by the writers of the New Testament, especially where speeches are related that were originally Hebrew. Such is the influence of custom, that even in modern times those who are daily conversant with the Bible, insensibly adopt its expressions, and speak frequently in a language that is never heard from a courtier.

Admitting therefore that the single words, and detached phrases which have been usually taken for Hebraisms, could by the application of examples from the Greek authors be shewn to be truly classic, yet no man can attempt to prove that the structure of the periods, and the use of the particles, are any other than Hebrew.

But the New Testament has fewer Hebrew grammatical constructions than the Septuagint, except in the book of Revelation, where we often find a Nominative<sup>6</sup> when another case should have been used, in imitation of the Hebrew, which is without cases. This subject I shall treat more fully in the sequel, when I examine the book of Revelation in particular. The Seventy have translated *וְשֵׁן* with the Suffix of the following word with too literal exactness, and they were so attached to that term of expression, that they have sometimes used it in examples where *וְשֵׁן* is omitted in the Hebrew, e. g. *Οὐ αρας το σωμα αυτα γεμι και πικριας* Psal. x. 7. Instances of this sort are less frequent in the New Testament, and St. Paul in quoting this passage of the Psalms has rejected the second superfluous pronoun, *ων το σωμα αρας*

απας και οικριας γεμει, Rom. iii. 14. The following are examples of the use of it in the New Testament: Matth. iii. 12. Luke iii. 17. Ου το πτυον εν τη χειρι αυτου (אשר בידו) Matth. viii. 1. 5. 23. 28.

In translating a word, that admits of a two-fold sense in our native language, it is not unusual to commit the mistake of taking the foreign word, which corresponds to it, in the same extent of meaning. Hence arise a great number of the Anglicisms, and Germanisms observable in the Latin and French of the English and Germans; and for the very same reason the Latin translator of the Old Testament has used the Latin word *testamentum* in the same latitude<sup>8</sup> as *διαθηκη* is used by the Greeks<sup>9</sup>. But a still more striking example I once heard from the mouth of an Englishman who returned with me many years ago from England to Hamburg: he desired the landlord of the inn, to whom he spoke in German, to bring him a looking-glass, with which request the landlord literally complied: this gave rise to an explanation, on which it appeared that the gentleman meant a piece of furniture that has no similarity to a mirror, the mistake having been occasioned by applying to the German word for looking-glass a sense, which is applicable only in English. Examples of a similar nature are very frequently to be found in the Septuagint and the New Testament. In Hebrew נצח has the following different senses, 'that which is pure and genuine,' 'the truth,' 'victory,' 'eternity.' This is not the place for examining the reason, or the connexion of the different senses, but those who wish to have critical information may refer to the Arabic word *نص* pure, genuine, true; or consult the remark of Schultens on Prov. xxi. 28. The Seventy translate it by *νικος*, victory; and hence the reason that *νικος* in the New Testament, as well as in the Septuagint, signifies also Truth, and Eternity<sup>9</sup>. The Greek translator of St. Matthew has the following expression, Ch. xii. 20. εως αν εξαβλη εις νικος την κρισιν, 'till he passed sentence agreeably to truth.' The passage in Isaiah<sup>10</sup>, Ch. xlii. 3. is לאמת יצא משה *יצא משה* which the Seventy, avoiding the harsh Hebraism,

<sup>8</sup> See Ch. I. of this Introduction.

braism, had translated *εις αληθειαν εξοισει κρισιν*<sup>11</sup>. But the Greek translator of St. Matthew, who perhaps read this passage of Isaiah as it stands in Habbakuk i. 4. *לִנְצַח יוֹצִיא מִשְׁפָּט*<sup>12</sup>, or thought in Hebrew at the time he wrote Greek<sup>13</sup>, has used *νικος* in the sense of truth, because *נֶצַח* admits that sense in Hebrew<sup>14</sup>. Even St. Paul has used as harsh a Hebraism. 1 Cor. xv. 54. *κατεποθη θανατος εις νικος*; which cannot be translated ‘death is swallowed up in victory,’ for those are words without meaning: *εις νικος* signifies here ‘to eternity<sup>15</sup>,’ and the passage must be translated ‘death is swallowed up for ever.’ *שָׁכַב*, to lie, whence is derived *מִשְׁכַּב*, a bed, signifies properly like the Arabic *سكب* fundere, effundere, and therefore the Hebrews used *שִׁכְבַּת זֶרַע* to signify effusio feminis, or semen effusum, and sometimes simply *שִׁכְבָּה*. This is translated by the Seventy *κοιτη*, because the Hebrew word, according to its derivation, might signify a bed, for instance Levit. xv. 16, 17, 18. 32. (*εαν εξελθῃ ἐξ αὐτῆς κοιτη σπέρματος*) xviii. 20. 23. xix. 20. xxii. 4. Numb. v. 13. in all which passages no other meaning is intended to be conveyed than that of emission of seed. Hence the word *κοιτη* has acquired the signification of ‘seed,’ in which sense it is used by St. Paul, Rom. ix. 10. *ἐξ ἐνός κοιτην ἔχουσα*<sup>16</sup>. The verb *ἀποκρινομαι*, which occurs so frequently in the Septuagint and in the New Testament in cases, where no answer is intended, may be explained on the same principles. The Hebrew word *עָנָה* signifies to address, as well as to answer, for no rational being speaking in his own language would say ‘he answered’ if no one had before spoken, and is a kind of introductory verb to the following word ‘spake,’ which in other languages than the Hebrew is superfluous. The reason of this may be explained from the first and proper meaning of *עָנָה*, which signifies, ‘to look at,’ and *עֵין* the eye seems to be derived from it in the same manner as Moses<sup>1</sup> derives *קִין* from *קָנָה*<sup>17</sup>. It being natural to look at the person with whom we speak, as well in answering as in addressing, the words *וַיַּעַן וַיֹּאמֶר*, which properly signify ‘he looked at him and spake,’ may be rendered ‘he

<sup>1</sup> Gen. iv. 1.

‘ he addressed him and spake,’ with the same propriety as ‘ he answered him and spake.’ The Greek language having no such general expression, the Seventy substituted ἀποκρίνομαι, which gradually acquired the extensive meaning of ענה, and was applied to persons who did not answer, but began the discourse. Even a perfectly false translation may give rise to a new expression. כן signifies ‘ thus’ and also ‘ rightly,’ therefore כן דברת is an affirmation<sup>u</sup>. But as the Hebrew had ceased to be a living language at the time the Greek version was made, the Seventy have neglected the more remote sense, and admitted the usual one even into the translation<sup>w</sup>, rendering these words, Exod. x. 29. by ειρηκας<sup>18</sup>. In Jewish Greek therefore ειρηκας, or συ ειπας, or συ λεγεις acquired the sense of an affirmation<sup>19</sup>, which is used Matth. xxvi. 25. xxvii. 64. Mark xiv. 59. John xix. 37. where Christ perhaps answered כן דברת<sup>x</sup>. I will mention another example, which I give not as decisive, but merely as an attempt to explain the difficult passages, Matth. v. 17. Rom. xv. 19. Luke vii. 1. in which the meaning of πληρωω seems to be ‘ to teach.’ We find, 1 Matt. iv. 19. ετι πληρυντος<sup>y</sup> Ιδε ταυτα, which in this place evidently signifies, ‘ while Judah was speaking these things.’ Josephus has taken the words of the Hebrew text in this sense which he has given by ετι δε αυτε διαλεγομεν ταυτα. Antiquit. xii. 7. 4. and the Syriac translators who as well as Josephus translated from the original Hebrew has rendered the passage ܐܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܗܘܕܐ ܕܝܠܥܝܢ ܕܝܠܥܝܢ ܕܝܠܥܝܢ ‘ while Juda was

was

<sup>u</sup> Thou hast rightly spoken.

<sup>w</sup> That is, though they considered the Hebrew expression as an affirmation they took כן in the first and usual sense.

<sup>x</sup> In the Catechism of the Druses the same expression is used for an affirmation ܐܢܬ ܩܠܬ ܘܥܝ ܢܦܨܟ ܫܗܕܬ ‘ thou hast said it, and testified against thyself<sup>20</sup>.’ See Eichhorn’s Repertorium, Vol. XII. p. 186. But the phrase is perhaps not originally Arabic, being borrowed from the Arabic version of the Gospels, which are acknowledged as divine by the Druses<sup>21</sup>, though they have perverted their meaning.

<sup>y</sup> The reading λαλυντος is a correction<sup>22</sup> from the Vulgate. See this passage in my Exposition of the first Book of the Maccabees<sup>23</sup>.

was speaking this.' It is probable that מלל stood in the original, as well as in the Syriac version, that the translator mistook it for מלא, and supposed it to signify emphatically plena voce dicere: for this reason he rendered it by πληρωω, which by these means acquired a new signification that was afterwards not unusual in the Jewish Greek <sup>24</sup>. But another explanation may be given, for which I refer my readers to the article מלא in my Supplementa ad Lexica Hebraica.

On the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity, the antient and genuine Hebrew <sup>2</sup>, or to speak more properly the South Canaanitic dialect which had been spoken by the Israelites, and in which the books of the Old Testament, are written, was gradually <sup>25</sup> fallen into disuse; and during some ages before the time, in which the New Testament was written, the dialect of the Jews in Palestine, as well as in the Eastern part of Asia, was the Aramæan, of which I shall speak more fully in the sequel. But the language of the learned, and that used in the service of the synagogue was Hebrew, which was become a dead language appropriated to the purposes of literature, and bore nearly the same analogy to the antient Hebrew as the school Latin of divines and philosophers in the middle and modern ages to the Latin of the antient Romans. New words, new sentences, and new expressions were introduced, especially terms of science, which Moses or Isaiah would have as little understood, as Cicero or Cæsar a system of Philosophy or Theology composed in the language of the schools. This new Hebrew language is called Talmudical or Rabbinical from the writings in which it is used. It is true that all these writings are of a much later date than the New Testament, but it appears from the coincidence of expressions that, even in the time of Christ, this was the learned language

<sup>2</sup> The name Hebrew is given by Philo and the writers of the New Testament to what we call Chaldee, for Hebrew signifies properly the language spoken beyond the Euphrates, עבר הנהר. What we term Hebrew is called in the Old Testament itself, Jewish or Canaanitic.

guage of the Rabbins. In the New Testament we find a considerable mixture of this Rabbinical language, especially in passages, where matters of learning are the subjects of discourse: and though the assistance which it affords in explaining the Hebrew of the Old Testament is very uncertain, as we cannot argue from the modern use of a dead language to its antient use among the classic writers, it is yet absolutely necessary for explaining the New Testament. The Sermon on the Mount, the conversation of Christ with Nicodemus, and the epistle to the Romans are very imperfectly understood by those, who are unacquainted with the Rabbinical language, and Rabbinical doctrines. The Sermon on the Mount, and the epistle to the Romans, contain a refutation of Rabbinical errors, and in the conversation with Nicodemus, where Christ speaks of regeneration, he says expressly that he is treating a subject, that must be well known to a Rabbi. In the third chapter of St. John therefore we may reasonably expect expressions, which may not improperly be termed Rabbinisms; where a man acquainted only with Greek may guess at their meaning, whereas he who understands the Talmud and the works of the Rabbins, will immediately and fully comprehend them. Much has been disputed on the meaning of *κατα ἀλήθειαν*, Rom. ii. 2. in which passage<sup>a</sup>; without a knowledge of the Rabbinical language and maxims, St. Paul may indeed be understood to have meant that the judgment of God is agreeable to the truth, and that conformity to the truth conveys the same sense as impartiality. But the Talmudical expression *בית דין* 'the tribunal of truth,' is a kind of school-term appropriated to the impartiality of the judgments of God, and the beginning of the above-mentioned chapter may be compared with the following passage of the Talmud. 'Rabbi Abija says, in the name of Rabbi Afa, son of Rabbi Chanina, "when the Holy One and high-prized enters into judgement with the ten tribes, they will not be able to open their mouths ;

<sup>a</sup> See Raphel, Palairer, and Carpzov on this passage, who explain it in a different manner.



mouths<sup>b</sup>; for behold I have made it known among the tribes that the tribunal of God is a tribunal of truth<sup>c</sup>. Thou wilt find that the ten tribes were led into misery, and that Judah and Benjamin were not led with them. Then answered the ten tribes, he permitted not Judah and Benjamin to be led captive, because they were those who served in his temple, here was respect to persons<sup>d</sup>. God forbid, with God is no respect to persons; their measure was not yet full, but when their sins were as great, they also were led into captivity. Then wondered the ten tribes, and were unable to answer<sup>e</sup>. Behold God, behold the strong one, who has no respect to persons even towards the children of his household, and lo that is confirmed, which was spoken by the prophet Hosea<sup>f</sup>, I have made known among the tribes of Israel the judgement of truth<sup>g</sup>.

The following Rabbinism is a proverb, which they perhaps borrowed from the Arabs. Rabbins as well as Arabs were accustomed, in describing an impossibility or a high degree of improbability, to say, it will not happen before a camel or an elephant has crept through the eye of a needle. I quote no instances in support of this proverb, as they may be seen in Wetstein<sup>h</sup>, and Buxtorf's *Lexicon*, p. 2002. The proverb is likewise used by the East Indians<sup>i</sup>, but whether it is originally Indian, or only borrowed from the Arabs, I leave to others to determine. But

<sup>b</sup> *ὡς ἂν σόμα φεαγῇ*, Rom. iii. 19. This is expressed in the Talmud, **לֹא יִהְיֶה לָהֶם פִּתְחוֹן פֶּה**.

<sup>c</sup> **שְׁדֵרִין דִּין אִמְרָה**.

<sup>d</sup> Rom. ii. 11.

<sup>e</sup> The words of the Talmud are **מֵאֵין מַעֲזָה בְּפִיהֶם** those used by St. Paul *ἀναπολογῆτος ἔστι*, Rom. ii. 1.

<sup>f</sup> Ch. v. 9.

<sup>g</sup> Among the various readings to Matth. xix. 24. The passage in the Koran, to which he alludes, is in Hinkelmann's Edition, Sura vii. 38.

<sup>h</sup> 'An elephant goes through a little door,' or 'An elephant goes through the eye of a needle.' See the 50th Continuation of the Accounts of the East India Missionaries<sup>27</sup>, p. 252.

But where this proverb is introduced in the New Testament, several Greek transcribers, through ignorance of the Rabbinical language, have imagined that καμῖλος, as it stands in the original, was a mistake, and have altered it to καμῖλος, a cable. More may be found on this passage in Wetstein.

But there are instances where the understanding the Rabbinisms is of still greater importance. Regeneration *παλιγγενεσία*, admits in the Greek of several significations, viz. 1. The Pythagorean transmigration of a soul into a new body, which, in the proper sense of the word, is a new birth. 2. The resurrection of the dead. 3. A revolution, such as took place at the deluge, when a new race of men arose. 4. The restoration of a ruined state. The word is used in one of these senses, Matth. xix. 28. but not one of them is applicable to Tit. iii. 5. or the conversation of Christ with Nicodemus in the third chapter of St. John, who has used, instead of the substantive, the verb *γεννηθῆναι ἠρώδην*. In both these passages the regeneration is ascribed to water, which circumstance alone might have led a commentator, acquainted with the language of the Rabbins, to the right explanation: especially as Christ himself implies, by his answer to Nicodemus, Ch. iii. 10. that he is speaking of a regeneration, that might be expected to be understood by a Rabbi. Various have been the conjectures on the meaning of this expression, and opinions have been formed on so important a subject and so unusual an expression, without knowledge of the language of the Rabbins, or a due regard to the connexion. It has been imagined that Christ intended to express a total alteration of religious sentiments and moral feeling, that was to be effected by the influence of the Holy Ghost and of Baptism. But how could Nicodemus suppose that this was the meaning? by what motive could Christ have been induced to have used a term not only figurative, but even taken in a new sense to express what he might have clearly explained in a literal and simple manner? and with what justice could he censure Nicodemus for his ignorance on a sub-

a subject, of which, according to this explanation, he could never have heard<sup>28</sup>. It would occasion a long and tedious inquiry<sup>29</sup> to enter into a minute detail of the various explanations of this passage, and it will be sufficient to mention that which naturally follows from a knowledge of the Rabbinical doctrines. In the language of the Rabbins, 'to be born again,' signifies 'to be accepted by God as a son of Abraham, and by following the example of his faith to become worthy of that title.' In this sense the connexion is clear, the language is such as might be expected towards a master in Israel, and the water to which Christ alludes, is that used in the baptism of a proselyte, to which the Rabbins ascribed a spiritual regeneration. For a more particular account of this passage, see my *Dogmatic Theology*<sup>30</sup>, sect. 185. and the remark on 1 Tit. iii. 3. To the above instance we may add the following. To ask the Father in the name of Christ (*ἐν ὀνόματι Χριστοῦ*) John xvi. 23. can hardly signify to petition the Deity through faith in the merits of Christ, and in fact it expresses only, according to the Rabbinical sense, to ask in the cause of Christ, or to pray for the extension of his spiritual kingdom. See Buxtorf's *Rabbinical Lexicon*, p. 2431. under the articles *בשם* and *בשם ה'*.

Even the mode of quoting the books of the Old Testament is sometimes so Rabbinical, that a critic acquainted only with Greek, cannot possibly understand it. How many useless disputes have been wasted on Mark ii. 26. *πὺς εἰσηλθεῖν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπὶ Ἀβιαθάρ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως*, in order to explain a fact which happened not, as this passage was supposed to imply, during the priesthood of Abiathar, but during that of his father Abimelech. But the whole obscurity and contradiction vanishes, as soon as we know the manner in which the Rabbins quoted the books of the Old Testament. They select some principal word out of each section, and apply that name to the section itself, in the same manner as Muhammadans distinguish the Suras of their Koran, saying, in Eli, in Solomon, when they intend to signify the sections

where those names are mentioned. For instance, Rashi in his remarks on Hosea ix. 9. says, "some are of opinion that this is Gibeon of Benjamin in the Concubine, *נָבֶעַן בְּנִימִין בַּפִּילְגֶשֶׁת*, that is mentioned in the chapter of the Concubine, or Judges xix<sup>32</sup>. The same Rabbi observes on Psalm ii. 7. *כִּמוֹ שֶׁנֶּאֱמַר בְּאַבְנֵר כֹּה־אָמַר יְחִיָּה בֶּן־דָּוִד*. 'as is said in Abner, the Lord spake, through David I will deliver Israel.' Aben Ezra on Hosea iv. 8. says *כְּאֹמֶר סְמוּךְ עָלַי* 'as is said near Eli.' In this manner quotations are sometimes made in the New Testament. Mark xii. 26. *καὶ ἀπεγινώτε ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ Μωσέως ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ*; Rom. xi. 2. *καὶ ἀκούετε ἐν Ἠλὶε τί ληγέται ὡς γέγραπται*; and the above mentioned passage in St. Mark, which has been thought to contain a contradiction, may be explained 'in the chapter of Abiathar,' or in that part of the books of Samuel, where the history of Abiathar is related<sup>3</sup>. Yet admitting this explanation to be erroneous, the Rabbinism in the two other examples is not to be denied.

Before I quit the subject of Rabbinisms, let it be permitted to make the following remark. The Rabbins betray frequently in their proverbial and figurative expressions, a low, and sometimes indecent taste, whereas the similar and correspondent expressions of Christ maintain every where an air of dignity, even where they approach so near to the language of the Rabbins, that they cannot easily be explained without it. As a proof of this assertion, we need only compare the two following passages, the first from R. Tarphon<sup>1</sup>, the second from St. Matthew. Qui manum ad membrum (virile scil.) adhibet, abscindatur manus ejus ad umbilicum ejus. Dixit quidam, Quid si spina infixā sit ventri ejus, annon tollet eam? Respondetur, Non. Instat alter. At venter ipse finditur; Respondetur. Satiū est ut findatur venter ejus quam ut descendat in puteum corruptionis. Nidda fol. 13. 2. *Εἰ δὲ ὁ ὀφθαλμός σου ὁ δεξιὸς σκανδαλίζει σε, ἔξελε αὐτόν, καὶ βάλε ἀπὸ σοῦ, συμφέρει γὰρ σοὶ ἵνα ἀποληταί ἐκ τῶν μελῶν σου, καὶ μὴ ὅλον τὸ σῶμα σου βληθῇ εἰς γέενναν*, Matth. v. 29.

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<sup>1</sup> See Buxtorf's Lex. Talm. p. 112, 113.

The language spoken in common life by the Jews of Palestine was that, which may very properly be called the *Aramæan*, those of Jerusalem and Judæa speaking the *East-Aramæan* or *Chaldee*, and those of Galilee the *West-Aramæan* or *Syriac*, two dialects that differed rather in pronunciation than in words, in proof of which assertion I refer my readers to my treatise on the *Syriac language* <sup>†</sup>. It was therefore natural that numerous *Chaldaisms* and *Syriasms* should be intermixed with the Greek of the *New Testament*; and even such, as are not to be found in the *Septuagint*. Were the *New Testament* free from these idioms, we might naturally conclude that it was not written either by men of Galilee or Judæa, and therefore spurious: for, as certainly as the speech of Peter betrayed him to be a *Galilæan*, when Christ stood before the Jewish tribunal, so certainly must the written language of a man born, educated, and grown old in Galilee, discover marks of his native idiom, unless we assume the absurd hypothesis, that God hath interposed a miracle, which would have deprived the *New Testament* of one of its strongest proofs of authenticity. Single *Chaldee* words such as *ρακα*, *Math. v. 22.* *μαμμωνα*, *Math. vi. 24.* *μαραν αθα*, *1 Cor. xvi. 22.* can hardly be called *Chaldaisms*, as even the purest classic author <sup>35</sup> might introduce a foreign word if occasion required; we may only observe that they are written according to the dialect of Jerusalem, not according to the *West-Aramæan*. *Syriac* phrases and turns of expression are of much greater consequence; three remarkable instances, *Γινισσθαι θανατη*, *Εδοθη μοι σχολη τη σαρκι*, *αγγελος Σαταν ινα με κολαφιση*, and *Σκανδαλισσθαι*, which I beg my readers to consult <sup>36</sup>: and not to quote from my own writings, I will add other examples, though they are of less importance than the three above-mentioned.

Verbs of confessing and denying are construed in *Syriac* <sup>‡</sup> with the prefix *ܐ*, e. g. *Acts xxiii. 8.* *ܐܡܝܢ ܐܝܬܝܢ*

<sup>†</sup> The same construction is used in Arabic; but as the writers of the *New Testament* spake the *Aramæan*, and not the Arabic language, I refer it rather to the class of *Syriasms*.

ܐܠܗܐ. 1 Joh. i. 9. ܐܠܗܐ ܥܡܝܢ. In the same manner we find in the New Testament, Matth. x. 32. ܐܢܬܝ ܡܪܝܬܝ ܡܝܬܝ ܥܡܝܢ, and a similar construction in many other passages.

ܐܠܗܐ 'power,' signifies in Chaldee likewise a 'miracle', in which twofold sense *δυναμις* is used in the Greek Testament.

ܐܠܗܐ 'to cover or overshadow,' signifies likewise in Syriac 'to inhabit,' e. g. Joh. i. 14. ܐܠܗܐ ܥܡܝܢ 'and dwelt among us.' The Chaldee word ܐܠܗܐ has the same sense in Pael, and is applied in particular to the Holy Spirit<sup>38</sup>, whence we may explain Luke i. 36. *Και δυναμις υψιστος επισκιασει σοι*. If this explanation appears unsatisfactory, and it is thought necessary to retain the idea of a nuptial bed, the expression is still far from being genuine Greek, and it is an actual Syriasm, for a nuptial bed signifies in Syriac ܐܠܗܐ<sup>39</sup>, Psalm xix. 6.

The Syrian, as well as Chaldaean Jew, called a week, a sabbath, ܫܒܬܐ because it contained a sabbath, and reckoned the days of the week in the following manner :

1. Sunday, ܫܒܬܐ ܐܠܗܐ the one, or the first of the sabbath or week. It must be remembered that in the Oriental languages the cardinal numbers are likewise used as ordinals, which is often imitated by the Seventy. *Exod. xl. 2. εν ημερα μια τε μηνος τε πρωτη*.

2. Monday, ܫܒܬܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܠ, two, or the second in the week.

3. Tuesday, ܫܒܬܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܠܐ, the third in the week.

4. Wednesday, ܫܒܬܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܠܐ ܕܝܠܐ, the fourth in the week.

5. Thursday, ܫܒܬܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܠܐ ܕܝܠܐ ܕܝܠܐ, the fifth in the week.

6. Friday, ܫܒܬܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܠܐ ܕܝܠܐ ܕܝܠܐ ܕܝܠܐ, the preceding evening, or the evening before the sabbath.

7. Saturday, ܫܒܬܐ the Sabbath.

It is therefore by no means extraordinary that *μια σαββατων*, Matth. xxviii. 1. Mark xvi. 2. Luke xxiv. 1. John xx. 19. Acts xx. 7. 1 Cor. xvi. 2. should be used for Sunday, or that Friday should be expressed in Jewish Greek by *παρασκευη*, a word which appears to have been adopted





break through openings<sup>46</sup>. The two Syriac passages<sup>47</sup> should be therefore translated 'in the night of Tuesday which opens the great fast day,' i. e. on which the great fast begins, the day being reckoned from sun-set among the Eastern nations<sup>48</sup>: and 'Saturday afternoon at five o'clock<sup>49</sup>, when Sunday was opened,' i. e. began. In the two passages from the New Testament above-mentioned, the Translator of St. Matthew's Gospel, and St. Luke, have used therefore a Syriasm of the same nature, as I have before observed in this section, applying to the Greek word the same extent of meaning as ܡܝܢܐ admits in Syriac<sup>50</sup>. The expression has been received into the church Latin of the Palestine Christians, and Adler<sup>m</sup> has quoted an inscription made at Cæsarea in the year 587, in which are the following words: 'medium noctis die dominica inlucescente<sup>51</sup>. *Ziḡawia* (ܙܝܓܐܘܝܐ) Matth. xiii. 25. is a word peculiar to the Syriac, and totally unknown to the Greek writers: it is used by both the Syriac translators, but it is not to be found in any other Oriental language, for the Arabic *زوال* and the Rabbinic *זול* are words distinct from the Syriac, though their meaning is the same<sup>52</sup>. There remains another species of Chaldaisms to be mentioned, which have been hitherto unnoticed: many Greek words have been adopted in the Chaldee, and have there received either a more extensive or different signification, which words have been used by the writers of the New Testament in the Chaldee sense. *Apisor* is a pure Greek word, and signifies Dinner<sup>53</sup>; it has been adopted by the Chaldeans, written ܐܦܝܫܘܪ and used for a meal in general, and often for Supper in particular\*. In this sense it is used by St. Matthew, chap. xxii. 4. where not only the great preparations, as well as manners of the country and the times, lead naturally to the supposition of an evening meal, but likewise the circumstance that the person who was expelled from the chamber for coming without a marriage garment

<sup>m</sup> Enuntiatio Matthæi ex lingua Syriaca illustrata, p. 16.

<sup>n</sup> From *زول* parvus<sup>52</sup>.

\* See Buxtorf's Lex. Ch. Talm. Rabbin. p. 227.

garment was led into darkness, which clearly implies that it happened in the evening, and that the eating room was lighted *Κρασπιδον* signifies in Classic Greek the border or train of a garment: the Chaldeans who have adopted this word write it כְּרִסְפִּידִין<sup>55</sup>, and apply it to express the tassels which hung at the four corners of the mantle, which the Jews wore over their usual dress<sup>56</sup>, and in this sense it is used Matth. xxiii. 5. *Μαργαριταις* has been received both into the Chaldee and the Syriac, מַרְגָּרִיתָא, [ܡܪܓܪܝܬܐ]<sup>57</sup>, but among the eastern nations the word Pearl is used likewise for Precious Stones in general, e. g. حَوْوَر<sup>58</sup>. In this sense we must take *μαργαριταις*, Matt. vii. 6. xiii. 46. And Rev. xxi. 21. it seems incapable of any other meaning, since gates of pearl, which every acid could dissolve, would hardly enter into the imagination.

Several expressions of the New Testament receive great light from the Arabic. I will not immediately call such passages Arabisms, though many of the sermons of Christ were held on the eastern or Arabian side of the Jordan, where John the Baptist chiefly resided, and many other opportunities might have introduced Arabic expressions into the language of Palestine. The Oriental languages have a striking affinity with each other; but as we know infinitely more of the Arabic, than of either Hebrew, Chaldee, or Syriac, it is not surprising that many passages of the New Testament can be explained from that language alone.

It is a common proverb among the Arabs, 'He bears the burden of another,' when guilt is imputed to an innocent person instead of the culprit. See Rev. ii. 24. Gal. vi. 2, 5. with my remarks on those passages, and Rom. xv. 1<sup>59</sup>. صَلَّيْ عَیْ 'to pray for,' signifies likewise to bless<sup>60</sup>; in which sense *προσευχομαι* is used, Matth. xix. 13. Κατανυξις, Rom. xi. 8. signifies not remorse, but *slumber*; in the text quoted from Isaiah xxix. 10. we find נִמְנוּמָה which the Seventy have expressed by a word signifying *compunctio*<sup>61</sup>, in allusion to the Arabic phrase,

phrase, "Sleep sews the eyes together." *Supplementa ad Lex. Hebr.* p. 449<sup>62</sup>. Idle words *الباطل* signify lies<sup>63</sup>, and *בטל* in Chaldee has the same meaning; hence we may explain the meaning of Christ, *Matth.* xii. 36. that the falsehoods, which the Jews have uttered against him, should be laid to their charge at the day of judgement. A path signifies frequently in Arabic 'Religion;' and 'to come to a man with something,' signifies 'to bring something for him.' The passage therefore, *Matth.* xxi. 32. should be translated, 'John brought you the true religion, but ye believed him not<sup>64</sup>.' The common translation is harsh and difficult; for though we may easily conceive what is meant by walking in the way of righteousness, yet to come to any one in the path of righteousness, has such a want of accuracy as to be almost unintelligible<sup>65</sup>.

The principal Jews with whom Christ discoursed (*John* v. 25.) saying, 'Ye were willing for a season to rejoice in his light,' had probably never had the smallest satisfaction from the preaching of John. Now in Arabic 'to rejoice at a prophet' signifies to make merry at the expence of the prophet, or turn him into ridicule. (*Koran*, chap. xl. 83.); Christ therefore meant to say, ye were willing for a season to turn his light into ridicule<sup>66</sup>. It must at the same time be observed that the Arabs used this expression likewise in a good sense. *Sura* xxiii. 55. *بشير* *ευαγγελίζω*<sup>67</sup> is applied to speeches and exhortations in general; in this sense *ευαγγελίζω* is used *Acts* xiv. 15.

## S E C T. VI.

*Two-fold error into which critics have fallen in respect to the Hebraisms.*

WITH regard to these foreign expressions, which I will include under the general name of Hebraisms, the learned have carried their assertions too far on both sides of the question. Some have ascribed this title to

to every phrase that was admissible among the Hebrew writers, even though it were used by the purest of the classic authors, forgetting that the same expressions may be common to a variety of languages, since man, the inventor of language, retains the same nature in all climates, and all ages. A similarity has been observed between a number of Greek and Oriental phrases<sup>o</sup> nor is it improbable that a portion of the Oriental genius should have been transmitted to the Greeks, who received their cultivation from the Phœnicians, and carried on a considerable commerce with that nation. From the time of Alexander Greece borrowed from the East in a still higher degree, to which the Jewish Greeks in a great measure contributed, and by these means numerous expressions, that were originally Hebrew, became naturalized in the Greek language. A want of sufficient knowledge of the Greek has often excited a suspicion of Hebraisms, for the same reason that our modern Latin is sometimes charged with Germanisms, for want of knowing that those very terms of language were likewise used by the antient Romans.

The most eminent among the learned have fallen into mistakes on this topic. Grotius has produced many instances of Hebraisms, which on a more accurate examination have been found to be purely Greek; but this is an error to which the deepest critics are exposed. In reading Rom. ix. 29. *Εἰ μὴ Κύριος Σαβαωθ ἐγκατελίπειν ἡμῖν σπέρμα*, it is natural to suppose that *σπέρμα* is a Hebraism; and yet it certainly is not. No instance can be given in the Hebrew language where seed<sup>1</sup> is used in the sense of remnant: even in the quoted passage of Isaiah, ch. i. 9. we find no word expressive of seed, but *רִצְוֹן* which signifies 'a refugee',<sup>2</sup> a term which the Seventy in this text, as well as Deut. iii. 3. have translated by *σπέρμα*<sup>3</sup>. The reason of this translation, which is purely Greek, may be seen in the *Supplementa ad Lex. Heb.* and the  
 appli-

<sup>o</sup> Ernesti de vestigiis linguæ Hebraicæ in lingua Græca: Lipsiæ 1753. Dr. Ernesti conjectures even that the Greek language is derived from the Hebrew.

application is extremely easy, as it is natural, when the inhabitants of a town or country have been mostly destroyed, to consider the remnant as the seed that must propagate, and restore the human race. Examples have been collected by Wetstein<sup>†</sup> from Plato and Josephus<sup>‡</sup>. It is extraordinary that those very persons, who are least acquainted with the Hebrew, are the most inclined to discover Hebraisms, and it has been as fashionable as it is convenient to ascribe the difficulty of every obscure passage in the New Testament to an Oriental idiom.

On the other hand, the advocates for the perfect purity of the Greek Testament are equally mistaken, and their mistake has been occasioned by various causes. In support of opinions they quote passages from the later Greeks, who by the constant use of the Greek Testament, and the works of the Christian writers, had insensibly adopted its modes of expression. And in cases, where they attempt to shew the purity of a word by pointing out an instance where it is used by a classic, they forget to examine whether the sense is unaltered, or whether its application does not favour of a foreign idiom. At other times they produce a single instance from a classic, which they have discovered with the utmost difficulty, in order to qualify an expression that is in constant use among the writers of the New Testament. But this is no argument against an Hebraism, for the peculiarity of a language frequently consists in the repeated use of particular phrases. Lastly, they forget the structure of the periods, and that the conciseness of Oriental composition is the reverse of the roundness of Grecian eloquence. Divines, whose pastoral engagements prevent them from applying to the study of languages, must of course be as little able to decide on this subject, as a monk of the middle ages on the purity of Latin. And those, whose learning might have enabled them to determine, have been prevented from discovering the truth, either by the injudicious practice of studying the Greek language from the New Testament, whence we are so accustomed to its style as to be insensible

<sup>†</sup> In his note to Rom. ix. 29.

sible of its peculiarities, or by a mistaken zeal for the honour of the Greek Testament itself, and a dread that every deviation from classic purity might be a charge against its inspiration.

Yet the dispute has not been entirely without advantage, for many passages produced from the Greek authors, though they answer not the purpose for which they were quoted, have contributed to the solution of doubts of a still more important nature.

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## S E C T. VII.

*The language of the New Testament has a tincture of the Alexandrian Idiom.*

OUR native language affords an instance that many great cities, and almost every province, have certain peculiar expressions, which are either uncommon or unknown in other parts of the empire, and are generally termed provincial. The case was exactly the same among the Greeks, not only with regard to the four principal dialects, but also in respect to the numerous colonies established in Asia and Africa, especially after the conquests of Alexander. The word *κρατιστος*, which is used in three different places in the writings of St. Luke merely as a title of honour, was in this sense more familiar at least to the Asiatic than the European Greeks, as was adopted in the Palmyrene Syriac, as appears from the 8th, 9th, and 10th Palmyrene Inscriptions<sup>1</sup>, in each of which a certain Septimius, who had discharged the office of Eutropius and Ducenarius, is styled *ܐܢܬܝܫܐܢܐ ܫܝܬܝܡܝܘܫ*.

We may apply this remark in particular to the inhabitants of Alexandria, whose Greek was probably not free from a certain mixture of Egyptian, of which *προφητης*<sup>2</sup>,  
*αγγελος*

<sup>1</sup> See Swinton's Explication of the Inscriptions in the Palmyrene Language<sup>1</sup>, and the Abbe Barthelémy's Réflexions sur l'Alphabet de Palmyre<sup>2</sup>. More will be said on this subject in the introduction to St. Luke's Gospel.

<sup>2</sup> Wetstein on Matth. i. 22. and Jablonski's Prolegomena to his Pantheon Ægypti, § 39<sup>3</sup>.

αγιλος as used in the biblical sense <sup>4</sup>, and αρχαγιλος are examples.

The Seventy have made use of words which are unknown to a classic author, such as θιβις <sup>5</sup>, αχι, the latter of which is undoubtedly <sup>6</sup> Egyptian. Alexandria was in many respects the metropolis of the countries inhabited by Grecian Jews, and the version of the Seventy, as it is commonly called, was made at Alexandria; it is therefore no wonder if Alexandrine idioms <sup>7</sup> are found in the New Testament. And it is a circumstance which deserves attention, that many of the advocates for the purity of the Greek Testament have in many instances quoted merely or chiefly Alexandrine authors. Εξαπινα, which is used in the Gospel of St. Mark, and in the Septuagint <sup>\*</sup>, and of which Thomas Magister says, that it is absolutely no Greek word, and perfectly spurious, has been found by Kypke <sup>8</sup> in Jamblichus †. To this may be added several words that are indeed genuine Greek, and admissible by the best authors, but which were more frequently and particularly used in Egypt, such as πτερυγιον τῶν ἱερῶν. Matth. iv. 5. Luke iv. 9. for even Strabo thought it necessary to explain what was signified by πτερα, when applied to the Egyptian temples, Lib. XVII. p. 1159. and this passage of Strabo, which has been overlooked by the commentators, is of more value than all the other examples which have been collected together <sup>9</sup>.

In reply to these observations it has been objected, that many words supposed to be Alexandrine are not to be found in Philo ‡. But this affords no positive evidence, since an author may industriously avoid what he knows to be peculiar to his country or province. No part of Germany, not excepting Leipzig or Halle, is free from provincialisms, and yet a good German writer will never discover by his language the place of his birth or education.

<sup>\*</sup> Mark ix. 8. Lev. xxi. 4. Num. iv. 20. vi. 9. Joshua xi. 7. Isaiah xlviii. 3. Psalm lxiv. 4. lxxiii. 19. 2 Chron. xxix. 36.

† Protrept. c. xx. p. 125.

‡ See Carpzov's note to Heb. iii. 7 <sup>10</sup>.



tion. And, as we know that Philo took particular pains to write in an elegant style, it is no wonder that he avoided every expression that appeared to be provincial.

Beside the language, which is usually admitted into the works of men of learning and genius, every great city has its peculiar and fashionable expressions in common life, and applies to certain words significations, which they have not received in other parts. This appears to have been the case at Alexandria, especially among the Jews, whose numbers in that city were almost incredible; and different senses and expressions being once admitted into the Septuagint, they were easily transferred to the writings of the New Testament. Several words have been discovered in both, which are neither usual among the classic authors, nor on the other hand to be explained as Hebraisms. *Πορνεια* is so seldom found in the Greek writers, that in several lexicons it has been entirely omitted, yet in the Septuagint and in the New Testament its use is extremely frequent; but the sense, which is usually applied to the different texts, in which it is used, is totally inadmissible in a very important passage, viz. Acts xv. 20. 29. See sect. 14. of this chapter.

*Γαμος* signifies among the Greeks “a wedding, matrimony,” &c. but in the common language of Alexandria, or at least among the Jews of that city, it seems to have signified an entertainment or festival in general, in the same manner as the German word for wedding, according to its etymology, may signify any time of general rejoicing: and in this sense it is used by the Seventy. The example taken from Genesis xxix. 22. where the Hebrew *משתה* a festival is translated *γαμος*, affords indeed a dubious argument, because the notion of a wedding<sup>1</sup> is there intended to be expressed; but Esther ix. 22. *Και τον μηνον—αγειν αυτας ημερας γαμων και ευφροσυνης*, where *משתה* is again translated by *γαμος*, and where no allusion can possibly be made to a wedding<sup>2</sup>, puts the matter out of doubt: and in some of the manuscripts, instead of *ωρα*, Esther i. 5. we find *γαμος*<sup>3</sup>. In the same sense we find *γαμος* used in the New Testament, Math.

xxii. 1. where a king made γαμῶς for his son, and yet in the whole parable not a single allusion is made to a bride, nay it is even difficult to conceive how that notion can be admitted in any part of the relation. Γαμοί can signify therefore in this passage nothing more than a public festival, instituted by the king in honour of his son, perhaps on the public occasion of declaring him the heir of his kingdom<sup>14</sup>: this hypothesis at least throws a light on the whole parable, and may serve to explain the reason why many of those who were invited refused to come, and why one person in particular offered an affront to the master of the feast, by appearing in a dress unsuitable to the solemn occasion. See also Luke xiv. 8.

It is manifest that עשׂר does not signify 'ungodly,' but 'that person in a process of law on whose side the injustice lay,' or the contrary to ק'רץ, of which more may be seen in the Supplem. ad Lex. Hebr. But the Seventy translate it in general by ἀσεβης, ἀσεβεια, ἀσεβειν, and whoever wishes to see the different passages may consult Trommii Concordantiæ. Nor do they appear to have used this translation through ignorance of the Hebrew word\*, which they have in several instances very properly translated by ἀδικος, ἀδικειν, ἀδικων<sup>16</sup>. Exod. ii. 13. xxiii. 1. 1 Kings viii. 47. 2 Chron. vi. 37. Isaiah lvii. 10. lviii. 6. Ezek. xxi. 3. Psalm cvi. 6. Proverbs xvii. 15. Job xvi. 11. Daniel ix. 15. or ενοχος, Numb. xxxv. 31. In many instances the translation 'ungodly' is totally inadmissible, and it is evident that ἀσεβης in the dialect of the Alexandrine translators had a sense different from that, which was given it by the classic authors. We need only refer to the following passages, Exod. xxiii. 7. Αθων και δικαιον εκ αποκτενεις, και ε δικαιωσεις τον ασεβη ενεκιν θυρων, and Deut. xxv. 1. Εαν γενηται αντιλογια αναμισον ανθρωπων, και προσελθωσιν εις κρισιν, και κρινωσι και δικαιωσωσι τον δικαιον, και καταγνωσσι τον ασεβη. What has hitherto been advanced brings the matter not only to an high degree of probability, but it brings it to a certainty, when we add that ἀσεβης and ἀσεβεια are used by the Seventy for **במח**, violence,

\* See Or. Bibl. <sup>15</sup>, Vol. vi. p. 158.

violence, or injustice". Jeremiah vi. 7. xxii. 3. Ezek. xii. 19. Obad. 10. Micah vi. 12. Hab. i. 3. ii. 8. 17, Zeph. i. 9. iii. 4. Mal. ii. 16. Psalm lxxiii. 6. Prov. viii. 36. and on the other hand *εὐσεβείας* for *קִדְּוָה*<sup>18</sup>, Isaiah xxiv. 16. xxvi. 7. And *εὐσεβείας* in this sense was so intelligible to the Arabic translator, that he rendered it in the last of these passages by *الصدقين*, though he had never seen the Hebrew text of Isaiah, and translated simply from the Alexandrine version<sup>19</sup>. We find traces of this deviation from the classic sense in the history of the heretics: *εὐσεβεία* signified among the Manichæans 'alms'<sup>20</sup>, and this is nothing more than a translation of *קִדְּוָה* and *לֶחֶם* which Chaldæans and Syrians used in that sense<sup>20</sup>, Syriac being the language spoken by the earliest adherents to that sect. In the same manner we find it used in the New Testament, and even in places where it has been falsely understood, viz. Rom. vi. 5. Abraham believes *ἐν τῷ δικαιοῦντι τὸν ἀσεβή*, i. e. not on him that justifies the ungodly, but on him that discharged the accused, it being an expression of the very same kind as that quoted from Exod. xxiii. 7. Deut. xxv. 1. and Rom. v. 6. where *ἀσεβείας* is evidently put in opposition to *δικαίω* in the following verse<sup>21</sup>.

*Ελεος* is sometimes used by St. Luke in passages where the connexion seems to require a different sense, than that of 'pity,' or 'mercy.' We may very properly say, the Lord has shewn a great favour or kindness to Elizabeth; but the expressions 'he hath shewn mercy upon her,' or 'he hath remembered the mercy promised to Abraham and his seed for ever,' seem unsuitable in the present instance, because pity implies misfortune<sup>22</sup>. But as soon as *ελεος*, Luke i. 50, 54. 58. 72. is taken in the sense of *ἔδωκεν*, paternal affection, kindness, or what the Greeks express by *ἐργον*<sup>23</sup>, and we compare those verses with Exod. xx. 6. Deut.

<sup>18</sup> Beausobre Hist. des Manicheens, Tom. II. p. 777. Epiphanius, in the 28<sup>th</sup> section of his Heresy against the Manichæans, uses *εὐσεβεία* in the sense of alms.

<sup>22</sup> See my Treatise on the Laws of Moses, which forbid the marriage of near relations, Sect. XLX. p. 62, 63.

Deut. vii. 9. the whole becomes easy. Καθως ηλენθημεν is expressive of St. Paul's being intrusted with the office of an Apostle, it refers therefore to the kindness, not the mercy of God. This use of ελεος in the New Testament is taken from the Alexandrine version, and in Trommii Concordantiæ are enumerated above an hundred and fifty examples where the Seventy have translated רַחֵם by ελεος, and that in cases where the notion of pity would be ridiculous. For instance the servant of Abraham\*, who with ten camels loaded with presents goes in quest of a wife for Isaac, the son of a rich and warlike Emir, and enters into a family which appears to have had a very moderate share of wealth", would hardly mean to request that Rebecca would marry his master, through pity<sup>23</sup>. Even חַמְדֵּי דֵּי דֵּי delicia Dei is translated by ελεεινος<sup>24</sup>, Dan. ix. 23. The word ελεος then must have been used by the Alexandrine Jews in a sense different from that received among the classic authors: and as this signification cannot be explained on the principle of a Hebraism, because רַחֵם never signifies pity<sup>25</sup>, we may naturally consider it as an idiom of Alexandria.

Ασθενειν is used by the Seventy in a sense unknown in pure Greek, signifying 'to fall,' and this signification is sometimes applied with a degree of emphasis. It is put nearly forty times for לָשַׁב<sup>26</sup>, or its derivatives. Proverbs xxiv. 16. Επτακις πεισεται ο δικαιος και αναστησεται, οι δε ασεβεις ασθενησασι (לָשַׁב) εν κακοις. Hos. iv. 5. Ασθενησας ημερας, και ασθενησει ο προφητης μετα σου. Jerem. xlv. 12. Μαχητης προς μαχητην ησθενησαν. Mat. ii. 8. Τρεις εξαλειψατε εκ της οδου, και ησθενησατε πολλους εν τω νομω. It seems likewise to have been used in this sense in certain instances by the writers of the New Testament. Rom. v. 6. ασθειων οντων ημων I would rather translate 'while we were in a fallen state<sup>27</sup>,' than while we were without strength, as the latter might afford an excuse subversive of St. Paul's design<sup>28</sup>. This appears to be the meaning of ασθενειν in the whole of the fourteenth chapter of the epistle to the Romans, especially in the twenty-first verse, where

\* Gen. xxiv. 49.

" See Gen. xxx. 30.

where the arrangement is *εν ω ο αλλελος σε προσκοπτει, η σκανδαλιζεται, η ασθενει*<sup>29</sup>. And to this acceptation the words used in the fourth verse *σηκει η πιπτει, σταθισται, σησαι* are much better adapted<sup>30</sup>.

## S E C T. VIII.

*Of the Cilecisms discovered in the writings of St. Paul, and of the style of St. Paul in general.*

**I**T is evident that St. Paul, who seems to have been acquainted with the best Greek writers, and to have had it in his power to write better Greek, if purity and elegance of language had been objects of his attention, has made very frequent use of certain words in a particular sense, which is either seldom or never to be found in the Septuagint or in the classic authors. *καταργειν* is a very unusual word, and in those few instances where it is used, it retains the primitive sense of *cessare facio ab opere*, which it derives from *αργος*. In this sense alone it is given by Julius Pollux<sup>1</sup>, Lib. III. § 123. Suidas has entirely omitted it, and in the very compleat indexes to Herodotus, Thucydides, Diodorus Siculus, as well as in the index to Lucian, published by Reitz, that contains every word<sup>2</sup> of the author, no instance can be discovered of *καταργειν*<sup>3</sup>. In the Septuagint it is used four times, but simply in its proper sense of *למנוח*, Ezra iv. 21. 23. v. 5. vi. 8. Except in the epistles of St. Paul, it is used only once in all the remaining books of the New Testament, viz. Luke xiii. 7. where it is likewise used in its primitive sense, since the Greeks applied the epithet *αργος* to a barren country. But in the epistles of St. Paul alone this unusual word is introduced not less than twenty-six times<sup>4</sup>, and taken in the different senses of ‘remove, destroy,

<sup>1</sup> It is used by Justin Martyr in his first Apology, p. 25. where speaking of Exorcists, he says *καταργουντες και εκδιωκουντες τους δαιμονας*<sup>3</sup>. But Justin probably borrowed it from St. Paul.

stroy, kill, make free;’ and it frequently occasions obscurity, as it is often difficult to determine which of these meanings the Apostle intended to attribute to an expression, which is almost peculiar to himself. *Eudokia* in the sense of ‘wish’ or ‘desire,’ Rom. x. 1. is nowhere to be found, not even in the Septuagint<sup>5</sup>, and its usual meaning of approbation is inapplicable to that passage. *Προσάγωγη* ‘free access,’ is used by St. Paul, Rom. v. 2. Ephes. ii. 18. iii. 12. but it is used in this sense by no other writer<sup>6</sup>. It is found in Diodorus Siculus, but in only one single instance, Lib. XVIII. 48. and it is there taken in a totally different sense<sup>7</sup>. *Προσάγω* is used three times by St. Luke, and once by St. Peter, we likewise find *προσαγωγῆς*, but *προσαγωγή* is used by St. Paul alone<sup>8</sup>, and it is not improbable that St. Luke had borrowed the other expression from his friend and companion. *Εκκαλεῖν* is used five times by St. Paul, 2 Cor. iv. 1. 16. Galat. vi. 9. Ephes. iii. 13. 2 Thess. iii. 13.; it is used once by St. Luke, but in no other instance, not even in the Septuagint; and the single example which is quoted from Polybius<sup>9</sup> is a totally distinct verb. These examples I have purposely selected, because they have never been mentioned in the controversy relating to the purity of St. Paul’s language, though they naturally lead to the supposition, that either the words themselves, or the senses applied to them, were more usual in the country of St. Paul than in Greece.

St. Paul was born at Tarsus in Cilicia, where Greek, and even good Greek, was the language of the natives; but it must not therefore be concluded that it was absolutely free from Provincialisms. Jerom expressly asserts that the Cilicians had their provincial terms, of which he says that several are to be found in the epistles of St. Paul, and that these idioms were used in Cilicia even in the age in which he lived. *Multa sunt verba, quibus juxta morem urbis et provinciae suae, familiarius apostolus utitur, e quibus exempli gratia pauca ponenda sunt.* ‘*Mihi autem parum est judicari ab humano die,*’ *ἀπ’ ἀνθρώπου ἡμέρας*<sup>10</sup>, Et; ‘*κατεπαρήσαί υμᾶς*’, hoc est,

non gravavi vos. Et quod nunc <sup>r</sup> dicitur ‘*μηδεις υμας καταβραβευτω*,’ id est, nullus bravium <sup>12</sup> accipiat adversus vos: quibus, et aliis multis verbis usque hodie utuntur Cilices. Nec hoc miremur in apostolo, si utatur ejus linguæ consuetudine, in qua natus est et nutritus, cum Virgilius, alter Homerus apud nos, patriæ suæ sequens consuetudinem, Sceleratum frigus appellet. Ad Algasiam quest. 10. Tom. IV. p. 204. Ed. Martianay. The first example *ημια*, in the sense of ‘court day, or court of justice,’ has more the appearance of an Hebraism or a Latinism <sup>13</sup>, though it is possible that the expression is Cilician. With respect to the other examples, three passages have been produced from Demosthenes, Polybius, and Plutarch, in which *καταβραβευω* is used <sup>14</sup>, and though no instance whatsoever can be found of *καταναρχω* <sup>15</sup>, it has been contended that its derivation is strictly analogical from *ναρχη*, which is genuine Greek. But this argument is of no weight, since the question, whether a word be provincial or not, must be determined not by analogy, but by usage: for many of our provincial words in Germany are derived from primitives in general use, and that according to the truest analogy. *Καταναρχειν*, which is to be found in no other writer than St. Paul, is used 2 Cor. xi. 8. xii. 13, 14. and if it was common in Cilicia at the time of Jerom, it must naturally be termed a Cilicisms. The three passages in which *καταβραβευω* is found are likewise indecisive; for the provinciality of a word may consist in its frequent and repeated use <sup>16</sup> by an author born in a particular province, whereas a pure writer would introduce it but seldom. No reason therefore can be assigned for rejecting the authority of Jerom, especially as we have no means of immediately determining for ourselves. It is certain that St. Paul has many words peculiar to himself; equally certain that the Cilicians had their particular idiom; is it reasonable then to suppose that St. Paul, who paid no regard to the ornaments of language, who styles himself *ιδιωτης τω λογω*, should retain no traces of the

<sup>r</sup> Jerom is here speaking of Col. ii. 18.



the idiom of his country? It is extremely difficult for those, who industriously avoid the peculiarities of their country, to help betraying in particular examples some tokens of their origin: and if this is the case with St. Paul, instead of being used as an argument against the New Testament, it is an argument in its favour\*, at least of the authenticity of St. Paul's epistles.

Balthasar Stolberg, who in opposition to the account of Jerom has written a particular treatise de *Cilicisms a Paulo usurpatis*, printed with his *Exercitationes linguæ græcæ*, has drawn an argument† from this circumstance, that the Tarsenses, according to Strabo‡, applied so diligently to philosophy and general literature, that they were not inferior to the Athenians and Alexandrines, and that Tarsus was the birth-place of several excellent writers, particularly Hermogenes the rhetorician. Now a city may be the seat of learning, and yet have its provincial expressions; and it is possible that works of learning and genius might be the produce of a city, where even a vitious dialect was used; since men of education endeavour at all times to obtain a purity of expression. Stolberg was of opinion, that what Jerom wrote on the Cilicisms of St. Paul, he had taken from Origen; but in that case the authority is still better, as Origen had a more profound knowledge of Greek than Jerom.

It may not be improper at present to make a few observations on the style of St. Paul in general. As he was born at Tarsus§, it is certain that Greek was his native language; but he being a Jew, and accustomed from his childhood to read the version of the Seventy, it was natural to suppose, what we find to be a fact, that his language would be tinged with Hebraisms. Yet he appears to have read many of the best Greek authors, though Grecian literature, in the proper sense of the word, is hardly to be ascribed to him; nor is it any where to be

\* See c. ii. f. 10. of this Introduction.

† Cap. xx. § 8.

‡ Lib. XIV. p. 991.

§ Acts xxi. 37—39.

be discovered in his epistles<sup>d</sup>. All that we can positively affirm is, that he was not ignorant of the Greek productions of genius, but we have no grounds for asserting that he had been initiated in the philosophy of the celebrated schools at Tarsus. In the few writings which remain of this Apostle are quotations from the Greek poets,<sup>e</sup> in three different places<sup>f</sup>, in each of which passages he has introduced them with propriety and judgment, a circumstance that implies intimacy with the Greek poets, for superficial readers, who quote merely to shew their learning, are seldom happy in their application: and St. Paul has perfectly freed himself from the charge of studied affectation, in deviating too much into the opposite extreme of neglect. One of these quotations, *τὸ καὶ γένος ἑσμεν*, he introduced in an extemporary speech, and it appears from his own observation that he had read it in several poets. In the midst of Hebraisms, and words peculiar to himself, which we may call Cilicisms till a more suitable expression can be found, he introduces the best and purest phrases, which are used only by the classic authors of the first rank. Several of these well chosen expressions were used by the Greek translator of the Pentateuch, and the Proverbs of Solomon; which though less frequently introduced than in the writings of St. Paul, afford sufficient presumption that the translator of these parts of the Hebrew Bible was a better master of Greek, than those who translated the remainder. St. Paul has all the appearance of a Jew, whose natural style was unclassic Greek, but who from reading the best authors had insensibly adopted many of the best expressions,

<sup>d</sup> Many have supposed that St. Paul was endowed with a great share of profane learning, and have ascribed to him a knowledge of all those sciences which might have been learnt in the schools of Tarsus. But this opinion seems totally ungrounded; and I subscribe, on the whole, to the sentiments of Dr. Thalemann, in his treatise *De eruditione Pauli Apostoli Judaica non Græca*, Lipsiæ 1769.

<sup>e</sup> Acts xvii. 28. 1 Cor. xv. 33. Tit. i. 12. The first and last of these examples are admirably suited to the occasions on which they were introduced.

expressions. If it be argued that these words he might have learned from the intercourse of common life, there still remain philosophic, and even Platonic expressions, which are the property of the learned alone: and the author of the sixth, and the two following chapters of the epistle to the Romans, can hardly be supposed to have been ignorant of Plato, or the writings of the Platonists. It is true, that many divines have taken the words *καὶ*, *καὶ* *ανθρώπου*, *ἐγώ*, &c. in a sense unknown to a Grecian philosopher, and have ascribed to them a mystical theological meaning: but it would be extremely difficult to shew that these explanations were grounded, and still more difficult to conceive how the Romans, on this hypothesis, could have understood the epistle. But as soon as these expressions are taken in the usual philosophical sense, and we except those Platonic errors which St. Paul expressly contradicts, the chapter above-mentioned becomes perfectly clear. The same observation may be applied to *σκήνη*, 2 Cor. v. 1. which, though in the language of the pulpit it conveys a kind of mysterious notion, is nothing more than the Pythagorean term for the human body, considered as a case or covering for the soul. It would be foreign to the present design to introduce a dissertation on the philosophical words in St. Paul's epistles, but whoever is inclined to the undertaking will be at no loss for materials.

Though the style of St. Paul possesses not the turns or graces of Athenian eloquence, yet he had the language at his command, even for the purposes of delicate irony, and refined satire: but he seems to have considered an accurate structure of periods as undeserving his attention, and to have taken the expression that first occurred. It was his usual custom to dictate his epistles, perhaps with a mind full of his apostolic engagements, and from this circumstance alone more freedom of language might be admitted, than in studied compositions. His mode of arguing corresponds to the Jewish conciseness, where in the chain of reasoning many links must be supplied by the reader,

reader<sup>f</sup>, a manner observable in the Talmud, and which St. Paul had probably learnt in the school of Gamaliel. He has never studied to avoid the air of a Jew or a Cilician, and indeed the half of his readers would have thought it a token of contempt if he had rejected a language, which he spake in common with themselves. We need only recollect the example of Josephus, whose love for Grecian eloquence was no recommendation to his Jewish countrymen. Yet the Hebraisms of St. Paul are not so numerous as those in the Septuagint and other books of the New Testament; his periods, though devoid of art, are drawn out to a greater length; the parenthesis, so frequent in the writings of this Apostle, have no tincture of the Oriental idiom, and Grecian purity appears in numberless examples.

If the speeches<sup>g</sup>, which St. Paul made at Athens, and before the Roman governors of Judea, have been transmitted to us with fidelity, and are not the composition of the historian, he must have been able to speak better Greek, than we find in his epistles and harangues before a Jewish assembly. It is true, that the language which he used in addressing an heathen audience was not entirely devoid of Hebraisms<sup>h</sup>, but it differed in a striking manner from his common style. This subject will be more fully treated in the Introduction to the Acts of the Apostles, where it will be shewn that St. Luke has recorded the speeches of St. Paul with accuracy and truth. Now, if St. Paul had a purer language at his command, than he generally adopted, independent of the warmth of his character, and the flow of thoughts with which his mind was constantly filled, he must have had other motives for neglecting elegance of style. The fear of giving offence to the Jews, to whom he wisely accommodated,  
 whenever

<sup>f</sup> For instance, in the ninth chap. of the epist. of the Romans.

<sup>g</sup> Acts xvii. 23—31. xxiv. 10—21. xxvi. 2—29.

<sup>h</sup> For instance, *προσωπον της γης*<sup>18</sup>, Acts xvii. 26. *τον Κυριον*<sup>19</sup>, v. 27, *κρινειν εν δικαιοσυνη*<sup>20</sup>, v. 31. *ελεημοσυναι*<sup>21</sup>, Acts xxiv. 17. *πως καταγγελλειν τω λαω και τοις εθνεσι*<sup>22</sup>, Acts xxvi. 23.

whenever it was allowable, both his doctrine and his manner, in order to win them to his party, and the seeming impropriety of deviating from a language that was already consecrated to the purposes of religion, might have determined him to neglect a style, that would have been more elegant, and more fashionable, but on the subjects which St. Paul discussed, endued perhaps with less energy and precision. The venerable expressions of the Bible, and the terms of religion, which had acquired a prescriptive right from the practice of the synagogue, were highly proper, and even necessary, in delivering the doctrines of Christianity: those once admitted into the dogmatical parts of his discourse, an Attic elegance in the remainder of his epistles would have made an useless contrast, especially as the language of St. Paul, when he wrote without art or attention to style, is at all times preferable to that of the Septuagint.

He candidly confesses to his adversaries at Corinth, that he makes no pretensions to the art of oratory<sup>1</sup>, his design in preaching the Gospel being to convince the judgment, not to influence the passions<sup>2</sup>. But a most extraordinary inference has been deduced from an epithet, which he has himself assumed of *ιδιωτης λογιου*<sup>3</sup>, that the language of St. Paul has a tincture of vulgarity. Now the son of a Roman citizen, who had conversed with governors and princes, seems little exposed to a charge of this nature; and Festus<sup>4</sup> would have hardly ascribed to him a superfluity of learning, if the language of St. Paul had been the language of the vulgar. There is an infinite difference between Jewish Greek and plebeian Greek; the former might be expected from a native Jew of the highest rank or best education, but the epistles of St. Paul must for ever rescue him from a suspicion of the latter. His speeches and writings display at all times urbanity and refinement; and it is a remark, which naturally suggests itself in reading his works, that the author united a knowledge of the world with a cultivated genius.

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. i. 17 ii. 1. 13.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Cor. xi. 6.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Cor. ii. 4, 5.

<sup>4</sup> Acts xxvi. 24.

genius. No courtier could have given a more finely turned reply<sup>a</sup> than St. Paul in his answer to Agrippa<sup>b</sup>; nor was it possible to express in a more delicate and modest manner his design of imparting spiritual gifts, than in the first chapter of his epistle to the Romans<sup>c</sup>. The warmth of his character has at times induced him to use expressions of severity, but he never mentions the names of those who are objects of his censure; and the satire which he has at times employed, though it wounded to the quick, yet never insulted the failings which he laboured only to correct. The peculiarity of his situation obliged him sometimes to speak in his own commendation; yet, though an act of necessity, he seems to feel the impropriety of pronouncing his own panegyric.

But to return to the expression from which we have departed. *Ιδιωτης* is properly a person in a private station; but it is used not only in opposition to a public magistrate, but likewise as the opposite of a public speaker; and St. Paul himself has used it, 1 Cor. xiv. 16. in the sense of 'hearer.' *Ιδιωτης λογῳ* expresses therefore nothing more than 'a man who is no orator, who pays no attention to the elegance of language, but speaks in the dialect of common conversation.' In opposition to *ιδιωτης λογῳ* St. Paul adds *ἀλλ' ἔτι γινώσκει*, in which he was not *ιδιωτης*<sup>d</sup>, but a Teacher, and Apostle. Now the word may possibly be applied to the deviation from classic purity observable in the style of St. Paul, which an author who attempted only to please might have cultivated with more attention: but setting all idioms aside, the whole expression is applicable to every man, who delivers plain truths in artless language. A professor in a university, who is attentive to the accuracy of criticism, but regardless of the graces of composition, is in the strictest sense *ιδιωτης λογῳ ἀλλ' ἔτι γινώσκει*. We may even doubt, whether that which is considered as a fault in the  
Apostle,

<sup>a</sup> Acts xxvi. 29.<sup>c</sup> V. 11, 12. See also c. xv. 14, 15.<sup>d</sup> Suidas says, *Ιδιωτης ἡ ἀγροαματός. Δαμασκίος περὶ ἰσίδωρον φησὶ, πατρῶν τῶν καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἰδιωτῶν καὶ φιλοσοφῶν, ἐχίμυθος εἰς τὰ μαλίστα καὶ κρυψιότης ἦν.*

Apostle, is not rather to be called a virtue, since it is at least a question, whether a native Jew would not have exposed himself to the charge of pedantry in attempting, to imitate the Grecian taste already on the decline. It was the great weakness of the Greeks to affect at all times the orator; and hence arose that inexcusable folly of their best historians, of putting long speeches into the mouths of heroes, who never had, nor ever could have spoken them, and which, if really spoken, no one present at the time had ever recorded. This passion for rhetoric increased with the loss of political freedom; and when true eloquence, the daughter of liberty and civilization, was extinguished, its place was supplied by the empty declamations of the schools. The adversaries of St. Paul might assume the character of Sophists, and by a vain parade of words astonish the illiterate; but an Apostle of Christ, whose design was to instruct, might safely reject the aid of foreign ornaments.

An objection to the style of St. Paul still remains to be answered. It has been said, that if the Apostle had ever read the writings of the Greeks, he must have insensibly moulded his language according to the best patterns, and from habit alone have contracted their manner of arranging and concluding an argument. The late Ernesti, in his *Interpres Novi Testamenti*<sup>24</sup>, even doubted whether St. Paul, who as some affirm, had read the works of Philo, was capable of understanding an author, whose style he compares with that of Plato or Demosthenes. Now the speeches of St. Paul at Athens, and before the Roman governors, are the best answers which can be given to this objection: these sufficiently evince, that in cases, where he thought it requisite, he had the language at his command; and if classic purity was neglected in his epistles, we know there was sufficient reason. But admitting that St. Paul was unable to write like Demosthenes or Plato, must we conclude therefore that he was unable to understand what they had written? We know from our own experience, that a facility in reading, and even judging of foreign authors, in the earliest



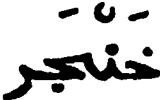
earliest modern languages, by no means implies an ability of writing them with propriety. It is of no importance whether St. Paul had read the works of Philo or not; he certainly had it in his power: but as Philo is not the most agreeable author, I would rather suppose him to have read the writings of Plato.

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## S E C T. IX.

### *Persian Words.*

**I**T is certain that the New Testament contains several words of Persian origin, such as ἀγγαρεύειν, Matth. v. 40. from hangar<sup>1</sup>, a dagger, γαζα, μαγοί, to which μεγιστavis may be added on account of its termination, of which last word a fuller account is given by Wetstein in his note on Mark vi. 21. But single words have no influence on the general style, and these with several other Persian words and phrases had been long adopted in the Greek language<sup>2</sup>. It might have been expected from the long dominion of the Persians over the Jews, that Persian expressions would have been introduced into the Jewish language, and thence into that of the New Testament but it does not appear that this mixture has ever taken place. Though the kings of Persia exerted over the province of Judæa a royal authority, yet the Jews were immediately governed by chief magistrates of their own nation, the Chaldæan language was spoken in the western parts of the empire, Jerusalem lay at a vast distance from the metropolis, and, as appears from the book of Ezra, the Persian edicts relating to the Jews were published in Chaldee. It is therefore to be ascribed to accident,

<sup>1</sup> In the Persian language  signifies a dagger<sup>1</sup>, worn as a mark of authority by the couriers in Persia, who have the power of forcing the proprietors of horses at every post station to supply them as often as they have need, and to accompany them on the road. Chardin in the second volume of his Travels, p. 242. of the 12<sup>mo</sup>. ed. says, Ces Couriers sont fort reconnoissables a leur Equipage, ils portent le poignard, &c.

dent, or the influence which the Arabic has had on the Persian since the time of Muhammed, that a proverbial expression in the sermon on the mount corresponds to a particular phrase in a Persian poem<sup>2</sup>.

More important is the influence which the Persian (not indeed that spoken at present, but the original language in which the religious books of the ancient Persians, the pretended works of Zoroaster, are composed) seems to have had on several passages of the New Testament, that have more the appearance of a foreign than of a Jewish original. In the first epistle of St. John, the words Light and Darkness, are used much more frequently, than in other parts of the Bible, and in a sense not dissimilar to the Persian notions. This remark, which was first made in the second edition of this work, I shall consider more fully in the second part, in treating of the first epistle of St. John in particular, and explain the difference between the common biblical meaning of these words, and that which is given them in this epistle. Expressions of this nature, and the words Light and Darkness in particular, are much in use among the Sabians, or St. John's Christians<sup>4</sup>; but whether these have borrowed from the Persians, this is not the proper place to examine. Nor will I undertake to determine the channel through which they have flowed into the language of the Jews and of the New Testament, though I cannot persuade myself that they were introduced by means of the Chaldeans.

We find likewise in the New Testament several Gnostic terms of science, especially in the first fourteen verses of the Gospel of St. John, where, in refuting the errors of the Gnostics<sup>5</sup>, it was necessary to retain their own expressions. It is a problem that remains unsolved, whence the Gnostic philosophy has derived its origin, but we are certain that it existed before the time of Christianity, and that Europe was not the country which gave it birth. It is possible that it came from Egypt, and not impossible from the remoter parts of the East, for it is recorded, that the philosophers of India, a word used by the ancients in  
a very

<sup>2</sup> See the Or. Bib. Vol. VII. p. 121, 122<sup>3</sup>.

a very extensive sense, believed in the *λογος*, which they held to be the same as the Incarnate. It had probably a mixture of Persian philosophy, or at least of Persian phraseology; for the Manichæan system, which manifestly arose in Persia, though in later ages, has a certain affinity with the Gnostic, and the two sects agree in many instances, both in their doctrines and expressions.

With respect to the similarity between certain parts of the New Testament and the Oriental philosophy, that which has hitherto been supposition, is confirmed as a fact by Anquetil's Epitome of the Zoroastrian Religion, and translation of the Zend-Avesta<sup>6</sup>; which, though not the same with the antient book of oracles in use among the earliest Persians, at least agrees with it in its tenets, and the terms of religion. This translation and epitome might be of great use in explaining many passages in the sacred writings, in which we find the same expressions, as in the Zend-Avesta. The term 'Word,' for instance, is there used in the same meaning, as by St. John and the Gnostics, for the name of a person, and determines the proper translation of *λογος*, which we were doubtful, whether to translate *verbum* or *ratio*, the Greek word admitting a double explanation, whereas the Persian admits only the former. This subject will be discussed more fully in the introduction to St. John's Gospel<sup>7</sup>, where passages will be quoted from the Zend-Avesta; and I will only mention here the rules of caution which I have prescribed to myself in this enquiry, without presuming to bias the judgment of others, who may be of a different opinion.

1. We must not consider every tenet in the Zend-Avesta as Gnostical. It is true the Gnostics borrowed from the Zoroastrian philosophy many of their terms, such as 'Word,' for instance, but they have likewise many of their own. They were neither Manichæans, nor the disciples of Zoroaster, but they were related to both. They even differed among themselves, and were not unanimous with respect to the degree of sublimity which should be ascribed to the Word.

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2. We

2. We must not attribute to St. John the doctrines of Zoroaster, though he uses the same terms, in order to confute the Gnostics, and argues against the tenets which they had in common with the Persian sage; whose philosophy, the parent of the Manichæan, had its errors as well as the Gnostic. We must therefore carefully examine St. John's own tenets, to know whether he confutes the mistakes of others, or delivers original doctrines.

3. We are acquainted only with the Persian philosophy through the translation of a book, that is not only later than the time of Zoroaster, but written since the days of Muhammed\*. If we were able to read the Zend-Avesta in the original, I could apply it with greater certainty than I can at present.

Yet after all, if the Persian terms of philosophy may be called Persisms, it cannot be denied that there are Persisms in the New Testament, especially in the Gospel and first Epistle of St. John.

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## S E C T. X.

### *Latinisms.*

**I**T has been disputed, whether Latinisms<sup>†</sup> are to be found in the New Testament, a question which we may safely answer in the affirmative; but they are such as were admitted by the best writers of the age, it being impossible that the dominion of the Romans should not have some influence on the Greek language. The Greek Testament has in this respect therefore nothing peculiar to itself, nor could it be expected, as the authors were nei-

\* The word Shaitan occurs in the Zend-Avesta; this is peculiar to the Arabic, for in other oriental languages it is written Satan, or Soton. The arguments advanced by professor Meiners against the high antiquity of the book translated by Anquetil, under the name of Zend-Avesta, are too well known to need a repetition<sup>‡</sup>.

† See the Thesis written by Dresig, *De Latinismis Novi Testamenti*<sup>‡</sup>.

neither from Italy, nor that part of Africa where Latin was the dialect of the country : it has nothing which the strictest grammarian can censure, unless it be a fault in a living language to be liable to change.

No one can be surprised that Roman names and titles should be retained in the New Testament, as they were originally in the Latin, such as *κεντυριων*, Mark xv. 39. 44, 45. *κολωνια*, Acts xvi. 12. *λεγειν* <sup>u</sup>, Mark v. 9. 15, Luke viii. 30. Matth. xxvi. 53. *πραιτωριον*, Matth. xxvii. 27. Mark xv. 16. John xviii. 28. 33. xix. 9. Acts xxiii. 35. Philipp. i. 13. *Κεντυριων* might indeed have been expressed by a Greek word *εκατονταρχος*, on which occasion we may observe, that St. Mark has more Latin words than the other Apostles and Evangelists : but in other cases the use of the Latin word was unavoidable, as in the instance of *legio*, which expressed what was not in use among the Greeks, and for which therefore they had

nam would be as faulty then to substitute a term of Grecian origin <sup>2</sup>, as to render the word in a modern language by regiment instead of legion, since the former expresses a notion entirely distinct from the latter <sup>v</sup>. *Μακελλον*, 1 Cor. x. 25. the Roman name for a meat-market, is found in no Greek author <sup>3</sup> ; but if we recollect that Corinth was at that time a Roman colony, we shall cease to wonder, that a public place in the city was named in imitation of the Latin *macellum*, and that St. Paul, in writing to the Corinthians, should retain the use of a word, which in that city had acquired the nature of a proper name.

It is still less surprising, that the Latin phraseology was retained in matters of law, as in all the provinces it was Roman, and Latin was the usual language in the courts of justice. We find *κερωδια*, Matth. xxvii. 65, 66. xxviii. 11. a word which was probably used in the original Hebrew, for it is retained by the Syriac translator, though, in consequence

<sup>u</sup> This word was probably used by the demoniac himself, for it was adopted in the Rabbinic language. See Lightfoot's Note to Mark v. 9.

<sup>v</sup> A regiment consists of cavalry alone, or infantry alone, whereas a legion included both.

sequence of some erratum, as written in Syriac, it has been mistaken for quæstionarius<sup>4</sup>: *τιτλος*, John xix. 19. *φραγελλωσας*, Matth. xxvii. 26. Mark xv. 15. which St. Matthew might likewise have used in the original Hebrew, flagellum being written in Chaldee *לִיגְלָם*, derived from the Latin. The common expression in the Roman law, *remittere ad alium judicem*, is literally retained, Luke xxiii. 15. The following phrases are likewise taken from the Roman law, *Λαβοντες το ικανον*, Acts xvii. 9. *καρπος*, fructus in the juridical sense of interest, or usury, Rom. xv. 28. and perhaps *επαινος*, 1 Cor. iv. 5. in the juridical sense of elogium. *Δοκιμασαι*, Luke xiv. 19. is used precisely in the same sense as probare, in the law acceptation of the word, to examine an article of merchandise, and pronounce it to be good or genuine. Cicero (Lib. III. c. 31. in C. Verrem, “ut probetur frumentum”) has used it in this sense, on which passage the remark of Grævius may be consulted. Cap. 37. 74, 75, 76. it is introduced more frequently, and whoever wishes to see a fuller account of the juridical meaning of this word, may have recourse to Brissotius *de verborum quæ ad jus civile pertinent significatione*, p. 1123. under the article *probare etiam est adprobare*. *Ἐπέθηκαν τον τραχηλον*, Rom. xvi. 4. literally ‘they pledged their neck or life,’ is perhaps to be construed in the same manner as *jugulum*, and other similar expressions, in the oration of Cicero pro Quintio, in which case it would signify ‘they bound themselves in a bond equivalent to their fortune.’ In the following ages, the law Latin was introduced more frequently into the Greek, of which the *Novellæ* and *Theophili paraphrasis Græca institutionum*, afford numberless examples: and we all know to what degree the language of the modern courts of justice is latinized in countries where the Roman law has been received.

And if other words<sup>6</sup> have been transmitted from the Latin to the Greek, it is no wonder that the language of the ruling nation should have influence on that of the provinces. I have remarked in another place<sup>7</sup> that the  
Greek

<sup>7</sup> In my *Programma* on the Septuagint, p. 21.

Greek word *συνειδησις*, seems to have been formed in imitation of the Latin. It is entirely omitted by Julius Polux, and in those Lexicons where it is found, the passages which are quoted are in general from the New Testament. The Greeks expressed commonly the notion of conscience by *το συνειδος*<sup>y</sup>, *ελεγχος*, *τη συνειδοτος ελεγχος*<sup>z</sup>, or *νους*<sup>a</sup>, and the Seventy have used *συνειδησις* only in one single example, Ecclef. x. 20. but in a different signification. The first instance, where it is used in the sense of conscience, is in an apocryphal book of later date, Wisdom xvii. 11. but in the New Testament it is repeatedly introduced. It is not unreasonable to suppose, that it was modelled after the Latin *conscientia*<sup>b</sup>, and the supposition receives a high degree of probability from the circumstance of its being used by several pure Greek writers, who lived among the Romans; which is an argument at the same time for the goodness of the Latinism. I will quote the passages at full length, as they are noticed neither by the lexicographers, nor the commentators; who have attempted to explain the New Testament from the Greek authors. Diodorus Siculus, Lib. IV. cap. 65. Ουτος μιν εν υπερον κατα τας τε πατρος εντολας ανειλε την μητερα, και δια την συνειδησιν τε μυσας εις μανιαν περιεση<sup>9</sup>. Josephus Antiquit. xvi. 4. 2. Κατα συνειδησιν αλοπατριαν. Philo, Tom. II. p. 659. in a fragment, ικανος προς τιμωριαν η τε φαυλα συνειδησις.

Ικανον ποιησαι τω οχλω, Mark xv. 15. is a Latinism, *satisfacere populo*. It is no argument against its Latin origin, that it is used by Polybius<sup>10</sup>, who lived in Rome, or by the later Greeks, who wrote during the time of the Roman empire; and the passage of Appian<sup>b</sup>, which is quoted<sup>11</sup> in support of the contrary opinion is a manifest Latinism. The Latin answer which the Roman senate had given to the Carthaginian ambassadors, is literally trans-

<sup>y</sup> Joseph. Antiq. I. 12. 1. II. 3. 1. Philo, Tom. I. p. 30. 196. 291. Tom. II. p. 29. 468, 469.

<sup>z</sup> Philo, Tom. I. p. 196. 236. Tom. II. p. 195.!

<sup>a</sup> Philo, Tom. II. p. 236 7.

<sup>b</sup> De Belle Punico, p. 68.



translated on account of its severity and doubtful meaning, *εἰ τὸ ἰκανὸν ποιήσετε Ῥωμαῖοις*, on which the ambassadors demanded *τί εἰν τὸ ἰκανόν*; what conditions do the Romans understand by *satis*?

*Δος ἐργασίαν*, Luke xii. 58. may be literally explained *da operam*, though an explanation might be given different from that of the commentators, without referring to a Latinism. On the other hand, *συ οφεί*, Matth. xxvii. 4. though it is unusual Greek, is no Latinism, but a literal translation of the High Priest's answer to Judas Iscariot<sup>12</sup>.

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## S E C T. XI.

*Idiotisms, bad Greek expressions, Attic and common Greek, poetical words.*

**W**HEN living languages have attained a certain degree of cultivation, there arises a difference between the language of ordinary conversation, and that used in the works of authors, which we may express by the terms common language, and literary language. There is a third kind, which holds the middle rank between both, that which is used in letter-writing, or epistolary language, which is the more rational, the more it approaches to the former, provided all expressions be avoided that are obscure or vulgar.

Idiotisms are such words and phrases as are usual in common life, but not admitted into writings or public speeches, being derived from *ιδιωτικὸς*, taken in a sense that implies the opposite to a public speaker.

They may be reduced to several distinct classes. Some of them are not only allowable, but indispensable, as it would be a fault to reject them in conversation for the more studied expressions, that are used in writing. They are frequently more concise and emphatical than those admitted into literary language, which being modelled under the rules of restraint has less compass, and less expression.

pression. To avoid idiotisms of this nature in epistolary correspondence would be real affectation, and many authors, by a proper use of them in their writings, have merited the applause of the public. A second class consists of such as are perhaps admissible, but which an author cannot introduce, without exposing himself to the remarks of the critics, or the censure of the Academy. To the third class may be referred such as appear harsh to a delicate ear, and are used only by persons without education; these may be termed idiotisms from *ιδιωτης*, taken in the sense of unlearned, and are subject to a higher, or lower degree of disapprobation, in proportion to the nicety of the ear, or the refinement of the taste. The lowest order of idiotisms consists of such, as are used only by the vulgar.

Now it is undeniable that the New Testament contains words and phrases, which are neither foreign, nor Cili-cisms, nor to be found in the writings of the Greeks; these perhaps may be referred to the language of common life. The writers of the New Testament in general have never pretended to the beauties of literary language; and St. Paul, who was the most able, has used in the epistles the same expressions, as he would have used in common conversation. *Εξοσια*, 1 Cor. xi. 10. appears to be the name of a woman's head-dress, or veil, in fashion at that time in Corinth, and that no classic writer has used it in this sense, is no more a matter of surprise, than that many of the modern ornaments of female dress are found neither in any author, nor even in a dictionary of the language. And St. Paul having occasion to speak on that subject, would have been blameable in avoiding the use of a term which custom had established; for he wrote not with the accuracy of an author who designs to publish, but merely with a view of being intelligible to those, with whom he immediately corresponded.

The Greek grammarians have laid it down as a rule that *οἶσ' εἰ*, without *τε*, signifies 'thou wilt,' and *οἶσ' τε εἰ* 'thou canst,' though this distinction has not been al-

ways observed by the Greek authors<sup>c</sup>; but *οὐχ' οἶον*, in the sense of *nequaquam*, says Phrynicius<sup>d</sup>, is totally inadmissible, because it is bad Greek, and has besides a disagreeable sound. Yet I would still translate the passage Rom. ix. 6. *Οὐχ' οἶον δὲ, ὅτι ἐκπεπτωκεν ὁ λόγος Θεοῦ*, in the following manner, 'but by no means (do I speak thus), because the word of God hath taken none effect<sup>e</sup>:' for though, according to the opinion of Phrynicius, the expression was unclassical, it was still in use, and that chiefly, as he himself confesses, in his own country, that is, either in Asia Minor in general, of which St. Paul was a native, or in Bithynia in particular, a province which had been likewise visited by the Apostle.

An inaccurate use of particles is a fault to which we are most subject in writing a foreign language, which we have not learnt by the rules of grammar. Of all the writers of the New Testament St. Mark has written the worst Greek, and it is therefore not incredible that he actually wrote *ως* for *καθως*, Ch. ix. 12. and that *καθως*, which is in many of the manuscripts, is the correction<sup>f</sup> of a transcriber who understood the difference of the two particles<sup>g</sup>.

The censure of the grammarians has been frequently unjust, who have not seldom condemned, on etymological principles (the most common, yet the most uncertain criterion in determining the legitimacy of a word) expressions, which have been since discovered in the best authors. Critics, who have studied to explain the New Testament by passages from the classics, have made these  
remarks

<sup>c</sup> See the examples which Wetstein in his note to Rom. ix. 6. has quoted from Aristotle, and Josephi Antiquit. I. 12. 1. where *φθισειν οἶος τε* signifies 'he wished to seduce her.'

<sup>d</sup> P. 162. of Pauw's edition. *Οὐχ' οἶον οὐδίζομαι, κισθηλον ισχατωρ. Μαλιστα αμαρτανεται δι' εν τη ημιδαπη, υχ' οἶον και μη οἶον λειγοττων, οπερ υμεινοι τη αδοκιμω αποβλητοι, αλλα και τη ηχη ανδεις. Λειγειν δε χρεη, υδηνω, και μη δηπω.*

<sup>e</sup> See Palaiet's note to this passage<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>f</sup> See Kypke's note to this passage<sup>4</sup>.

remarks of the ancient grammarians a particular subject of attention; and Wetstein, who is by far the most valuable writer on this subject, has the singular merit of having quoted literally their censures, and of subjoining, as often as he was able, authorities from the best authors in support of the words in question. The beautiful edition of Thomas Magister, *cum Notis variorum*, published by Bernard, at Leyden, 1757, may be likewise consulted with advantage, as many of the words of the New Testament, which Thomas Magister had condemned with immoderate severity, are there defended by quotations from classic writers.

The above-mentioned observations on the idiotisms must not be confounded with the remarks of grammarians on the difference between Atticisms, and simple Grecisms, as Mœris for instance says, Κορινθος, Αττικως, αγριελαιος, Ελληνικως. In these cases likewise Wetstein has used in his notes the same accuracy, as in the former. Now it is self-evident that the authors of the Greek Testament never pretended to write Attic Greek, but were satisfied with the language of Greece in general. Yet examples may be produced, where the commentators have met with difficulty in explaining a passage that is a real Atticism. St. Paul has used *αι διαθηκαι*, Rom. ix. 4. in the plural, for which various reasons have been assigned by the critics; but, in fact, the Apostle in this instance has used the best possible, or Attic expression. *Διαθηκας γραφειν τις λεγεται ου διαθηκην*, says Thomas Magister<sup>s</sup>, who was perhaps on the other hand too severe in excluding totally the singular.

With regard to the idiotisms, or words and expressions of common life, we are not reduced, as might be supposed, to the necessity of mere conjecture, but have various sources of critical assistance in determining their meaning. The obscurity therefore, which they occasion, is not so great as many have pretended, though it cannot be denied that writings, into which they are admitted, are more difficult to be understood than classic authors. We may discover their signification in certain cases from  
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the usage even of good writers, who have sometimes been guilty of an oversight, and used them instead of classical expressions. But the greatest help is to be derived from the remains of Greek authors of inferior rank, the merits of whose language admit of various degrees of estimation from the moderate down to the very worst style in writing, to which latter class may be referred several fragments written in Jewish Greek, which are either apocryphal, or falsely ascribed to the apostolic Fathers. Many expressions, which an accurate prose writer would avoid, are allowable in poetry; and the writer of comedies in particular is frequently obliged to introduce words that are never heard but in common life, as it would be absurd to put refined language into the mouths of the illiterate. The inscriptions likewise, which have been discovered to a very considerable amount in almost all the countries where Greek was spoken, have served to explain many idiotisms and provincialisms, which would otherwise have been unknown, being frequently written by persons who were not masters of the Greek, in the same manner as the epitaphs in our country churchyards are generally composed by the illiterate in the usual dialect of the neighbourhood. The remark made by Kypke<sup>6</sup> on *Θρεμματα*, John iv. 12. and since confirmed by Gesner<sup>7</sup> affords a striking example. But a still more important example is that of *βασιλικος*, John iv. 46, a word that has occasioned no inconsiderable disputes, and is likewise explained by Gesner from a Greek inscription, in which is recorded of a Lesbian Prytanis, *τῶν ἐπωνυμῶν ἀπὸ βασιλεῶν πρυτανίαν ἐκ γένεος διαδεξάμενος*, and immediately after, that the senate and people ranked him under the *balifici*

<sup>6</sup> In a dissertation read before the Academy of Sciences at Gottingen, Nov. 10, 1759, and printed in the fifth volume of the *Commentationes Scientiarum Goettingensis antiquiores*. He produces, p. 29—33, a Greek inscription preserved by Pococke, of a sepulchre that had belonged to Ulpius Julius Trophimus, of Smyrna, who is entitled *συμποσιαρχης, βουλευτης* and *πρυτανις*, and who had purchased it, *ΑΥΤΩ ΚΑΙ ΤΗ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΙ ΜΟΥ ΤΥΧΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΕΚΝΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΓΓΟΝΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΘΕΡΕΜΜΑΣΙ ΜΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΠΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΙΣ*. *Mihi, et uxori meæ Tychæ, et liberis, et posteris et alumniis meis, et libertis*<sup>7</sup>.

balifici of Asia, βασιλικοῖς Ἀσίας ἀνελογησεν<sup>b</sup>. Lastly, the ancient Greek grammarians themselves, have not only informed us that many words, to which they applied the epithets of ἀδοκίμον, ἀποβλητον, κίβδηλον, κίβδηλον ἐσχάτως, were still in use, but have likewise explained their meaning; which explanations have thrown the greatest light on many obscure passages of the New Testament.

Idiotisms, taken in the sense of Vulgarisms, cannot with any colour of justice be ascribed to the New Testament. With respect to St. Luke and St. Paul, no one could suspect the former; and the frequent intercourse of the latter with persons of the highest rank gives little ground to suppose that he spake the language of the populace. With regard to St. John, his style is of a nature that precludes all vulgarity. Yet Heumann, in his notes<sup>i</sup> on the New Testament, which were formerly considered as profoundly learned, has laid down the following principle as the basis of his criticisms: ‘that the New Testament is written in the very worst Greek, and in the language of the vulgar; that many words and phrases have been used in senses unknown to the classics, and given them only by the populace; and, lastly, that their meaning is not to be discovered by the help of the Greek writers, but merely from conjecture, or the general connexion.’ But as the charge of vulgarity has never been proved, and the idiotisms, which are not so numerous<sup>k</sup> as he pretended, may be explained by other means than mere conjecture, the whole edifice which he has erected on this basis falls of itself to the ground.

Count Zinzendorf has pretended to discover, in the sermons of Christ, certain idiotisms, in use only among the common workmen of Nazareth, that is, vulgar Syriac expressions, translated literally into Greek; and this he

<sup>b</sup> See the same volume<sup>3</sup> of the Commentationes antiquiores, p. 51. 57. 58. This inscription may serve to explain βασιλικός, John iv. 46. on the supposition that it is an appellative, but it seems to me to be a proper name<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>i</sup> See particularly his Notes on Mark iv. 36. vi. 15. xii. 4. 29. xiv. 3.

<sup>k</sup> This has been clearly shewn by Kypke, in his Observationes sacræ.

he has attempted to shew in passages, where several commentators have discovered mysteries<sup>1</sup>. Now I will not condemn the Count as an heretic, whatever was the cause that gave birth to this opinion; whether he intended to exchange the old system of biblical criticism for a new one of his own, or whether he was led into the error by the fancy of his genius, and the want of instruction in theology, to which he was directed by natural inclination. He confounded the customs of the Jews with the customs of the moderns; and concluded, that the son of a carpenter could speak no other language than that of the illiterate: but among the Jews, a man might belong to the class of the learned, though he exercised the trade of a mechanic. Even the enemies of Christ refused him not a title, that was due only to men of learning; which is the less surprising, as we find in the sermon on the mount, and many other of his speeches, the characteristic style of the Jewish doctors, discoverable in the Talmud, which consists in short and detached sentences, and in leaving in a chain of argument the intermediate links to be supplied by the hearers. Rabbinisms therefore, not vulgarisms, must be sought in the sermons of Christ; for the Jews themselves, astonished at a language, which they expected not from an education in Nazareth, applied to it an epithet<sup>2</sup>, which is due only to the graces of a polished style. It is true, that an instance may be alledged of a Galilean term of reproach, viz. Nazarene, not spoken by Christ, but by his enemies<sup>3</sup>. Expressions of contempt, taken from the general character<sup>4</sup> of a city, are frequent among men of the lowest order, and the word Nazarene is used in that country to this very day in the sense of 'deceiver'<sup>5</sup>.

An objection has been made to several words in the New Testament, that they are such as are used chiefly by

<sup>1</sup> See Benner's *Lerna Zinzendoriana*, c. iii. § 10.

<sup>2</sup> Ἀγροὶ χάριτος, Luke iv. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Mark xiv. 67. according to the reading of the Syriac version, καὶ σὺ μὲν τὸ Ἰησοῦ νοθα, Ναζαρηνί<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> See John i. 47.

<sup>5</sup> See the *Orient. Bibl*<sup>11</sup>. Vol. X. p. 47.



by poets<sup>1</sup>; a circumstance not to be expected, as is said, from persons who were without education, and not perfect masters of the Greek. But the objection is really of no weight, as every man, who has learned a foreign language, is liable to use in prose, expressions which are the province of poetry; and this might easily have happened to St. John, who seems to have studied variety. Though poetical, they might have been used in common life, if not in the language of literary prose; but this is a distinction, which is made only by those who have learned a language from their childhood.

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## S E C T. XII.

### *Solecisms, or grammatical errors.*

**SOLECISMS**, or grammatical errors, have been imputed to the New Testament, even in cases where the construction is Attic; a charge, which can be ascribed to no other cause than ignorance of the Greek language. Instead of the genitive absolute, the Attic dialect admitted frequently the nominative<sup>1</sup>, and yet this very construction has been censured in the New Testament, as a fault against the rules of grammar; a circumstance the more surprising, as it is very frequently used in the Septuagint<sup>2</sup>, viz. Gen. xv. 1. xvi. 5. xxii. 20. xxxviii. 13. 24. xlv. 16. xlviii. 2. 20. Exod. v. 14. xviii. 3, 4. Levit. viii. 31. Jos. x. 17. 1 Sam. xv. 12. xix. 19. 2 Sam. vi. 12. A passage in the epistle to the Romans, which has occasioned much difficulty and dispute, Πέριχα ἐξ ἑνὸς κοιτῆν ἔχοντα Ἰσαακ τὴν πατέρα ἡμῶν, Rom. ix. 10. may be explained as an Atticism<sup>3</sup>, Πέριχα ἔχοντα being used for Πέριχας ἔχοντες. Another passage, Mark xv. 36. which has hitherto appeared contradictory to the parallel text in St. Matthew, may be explained  
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<sup>1</sup> For instance, John vii. 34. συμῖ, ἐο<sup>12</sup>.

on this principle, so as to remove all contradiction<sup>3</sup>. According to St. Matthew, at the time that Christ was expiring on the cross, one of the spectators brought him vinegar to drink, apparently with the best intention, but was defied by the others in a tone of malice and ridicule, to wait and see whether Elias would come: but according to St. Mark, the same person who brought the vinegar, made likewise the cruel request, that it might not be administered. Now if *λεγων* be admitted as a nominative absolute, it has the same meaning as *λεγοντος τινος*, by which all contradiction is removed<sup>4</sup>.

The charge of solecisms gave rise to an excellent treatise by Schwartz, entitled *Solœcismi discipulorum Jesu antiquati*, in which he first treats of the nature of solecisms in general, and then examines the several passages of the New Testament, which had been condemned as such by the critics. The frequent use of this book itself, and still more the many extracts, which have been made from it by Wolf, have contributed to explode a notion that was formerly fashionable. Yet certain instances remain, where a perfect vindication would be difficult, especially in the book of Revelation, in which the nominative is sometimes used in a manner that is contrary to the practice of the Greek writers<sup>5</sup>. The examples have been collected by Bengel, in his *Apparatus Criticus*, p. 488. 2d edit. and as they cannot be explained as nominatives absolute, we consider them in the light of Jewish solecisms, which I shall examine more at large in treating of this book in particular. Schwartz has altered the stops, in the fifth verse of the first chapter, in order to vindicate this passage, but he was able to apply no remedy to the remaining; and whatever latitude we allow to the use of the various lections, it is inconceivable that  
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<sup>3</sup> Several transcribers have attempted to remove the contradiction, by an alteration of the text. The Codex Colbertinus 4705, instead of *λεγων*, has *οι δε λοιποι ελεγον*, which is the manifest correction; and Wetstein's Cod. 13. and 69. have *και δραμοντες εγεμισαν σπαγγον οξυς, και περιθιντες καλαμη ιποτισαν αυτον λεγοντες*; but this again is an evident, though an ingenious correction.

a construction, which is not used in the other books of the New Testament, should occur so frequently in the Revelation, unless it were written by the author himself.

Nor will I deny that in other parts of the New Testament examples may be found, that are contrary to the rules of grammar, though their number is very inconsiderable. *ἵνα μὴ φουρίσθῃ*, 1 Cor. iv. 6. is hardly to be defended on grammatical principles. Erasmus, Beza, and Grotius, with Pearce, who has followed their example, have proposed to read *φουρίσθῃ*; but this correction is supported by the authority of not one single manuscript. In all probability, therefore, it was written originally as it stands at present; it must be regarded as a deviation from grammatical precision, the proposed amendment having less the appearance of critical conjecture, than of the correction of a master. Wetstein has indeed quoted *ἵνα ἵστα*, Rev. xxii. 14. in support of this passage, but this is only to defend one fault by the authority of another.

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### S E C T. XIII.

*Inference to be deduced from these premises, respecting the knowledge necessary for the understanding of the New Testament.*

**F**ROM the foregoing description of the language of the New Testament, we may form an estimate of the requisites which are necessary for every man, who would understand it fundamentally and critically, and, instead of relying on the opinion of others, would examine and decide for himself.

In the first place, it is necessary to have an intimate acquaintance with the Greek classics, as numberless words and phrases occur in the New Testament, which can be explained by their means alone. The common meaning of *πίστις* in the New Testament is Faith; and whoever has learnt Greek from the New Testament, ap-  
plies

plies that sense on all occasions, even to passages where it is inadmissible. In the two following passages, Acts xvi. 31. *πισιν παρασχων πασιν*, and Rom. xii. 6. *προφητιαν κατα την αναλογιαν πισιως*, 'Faith' would be a very improper translation; and every man, acquainted with the different senses of *πισις* among the Greek writers would explain it in the first instance by 'proof,' or 'ground of belief,' and in the second by 'res credita,' as St. Paul meant probably, that every man should use the gift of prophecy, not according to the measure of his faith, but in proportion to the talent with which he was intrusted, or the abilities with which he was endowed.

The excellent indexes annexed to many editions of the Greek authors, such as are found in Wesseling's Herodotus, and Diodorus Siculus, and Ducker's Thucydides, may afford a classical scholar essential service, even in cases where the learned compilers themselves derived no critical assistance. The best memory, united with the most frequent reading, is not always sufficient to recall the passages which are useful to be known; but by means of an index, we are enabled to refer at once to a classic writer, in order to collate and explain a text of the New Testament. The Lexicographers likewise, who were native Greeks, and especially Suidas, have been by no means exhausted by the commentators; a diligent use of them might be attended with great advantage; and even in those instances, where a word is not contained in them, we may derive this useful inference, that it is either a provincialism, or peculiar to the Greek Testament.

The inestimable treasure, which lies hidden in the ancient inscriptions, might be of singular service, particularly in explaining the provincialisms and idiotisms. They have hitherto been seldom or never applied to this purpose; and, as the books in which they are contained are frequently too expensive to be purchased by the learned, it is to be wished that some one, who has leisure and abilities, would compose a Lexicon containing the words  
used

used in the Greek inscriptions, not only in such as have been collected in separate volumes, but in those which are found singly in the descriptions of travellers. A work of this nature would be an invaluable guide to a commentator in his critical researches.

But the book most necessary to be read and understood by every man, who studies the New Testament, is without doubt the Septuagint, which alone has been of more service, than all the passages from the profane authors collected together. It should be read, in the public schools by those, who are destined for the church, should form the subject of a course of lectures at the university, and be the constant companion of an expositor of the New Testament. Not to repeat what I have written on a former occasion, I refer my readers to my *Programma* on this subject, published in 1767, where examples are given\* of the manner of explaining the New Testament from the Septuagint†. Φωτίζω, ‘to teach,’ and φωτισμος, ‘instruction,’ are instances of importance in dogmatical theology; and if the writers on this branch of divinity had consulted the version of the Seventy‡, they would have avoided the mistake of seeking a mystical, where only a plain meaning was intended; nor would they have disputed about the supernatural influence of divine grace on those who have not attained the state of regeneration. Another instance, Heb. xi. 5. εὐηρεσθαι τὸ θεῷ, which signifies not ‘to please God,’ but ‘to serve God,’ I have treated more fully in my notes on this epistle, where the meaning of this phrase is particularly explained§. The attempts of the most learned critics to discover the sense of ἀπειραι, 1 Pet. ii. 9. by means of passages from profane writers have been unsuccessful; but if they had referred to the text in the Septuagint, Isaiah xliii. 21. whence St. Peter has borrowed the expression, they would have found that ἀπειραι was nothing more than תְּהִלָּוֹת the ‘glory,’ not the ‘virtues of God’.

The concordance of Trommius, a book which is indispensable to an expounder of the New Testament, renders

\* p. 13—27.

† See my *Essay on Dogmatical Theology* ‡, p. 579.

ders this application of the Septuagint extremely easy ; and I wish as earnestly that it were in the hands of every theologian, as that Psalms, and other works of that nature, were banished from the schools. By the help of this concordance, we may discover at one view not only the sense and construction of a word in dispute, but likewise the Hebrew expression of which it is a translation, and thus easily determine whether a phrase be a Hebraism or not. It is true, that in some respects the work is incomplete : the Septuagint version of Daniel is totally wanting, it being at that time unknown<sup>6</sup> ; and several words of the remaining books are omitted, but these omissions are not so numerous as might be expected in a collection of so many thousand words<sup>7</sup>. This I can declare with the more certainty, as I am in possession of a copy that formerly was used by my father, who has supplied what he found in the course of his reading to be deficient, which I have continued since the time of his death. Biel's Lexicon<sup>8</sup> on the Septuagint is likewise a valuable book, and if properly improved might be of great utility ; but from the nature of the work itself, it cannot be so convenient for making an immediate reference as the concordance of Trommius.

The remarks which have been made on the use of the Septuagint, are equally applicable to the books of the Apocrypha<sup>9</sup>, from which a greater benefit may be expected, in proportion as they have been less applied to this purpose. In a commentary on the first book of the Maccabees, which I intend shortly to publish, many examples will be given of this nature<sup>10</sup>. I will therefore confine myself at present to a single instance. It is of some consequence to determine precisely the meaning of *ἐξ ὧν διατηροῦντες εαυτοὺς ἐν πρᾶξιν*, Acts xv. 29. because it has been a matter of dispute, whether the command to abstain from eating blood was to be extended to all Christians ; the doctrine has been maintained in the affirmative by whole churches, supported by many of the learned, and not seldom occasioned a secret doubt  
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<sup>6</sup> See my *Programma* on the Septuagint<sup>9</sup>, p. 49—52.

and anxiety. 'Now, the proper meaning of *eu πράξετε* may be discovered from the use of *καλως ποιεῖν*, and *ορθως ποιεῖν*, in the first book of Maccabees, where they imply nothing more than a polite manner of making a request, ch. xii. 18. *καὶ νυν καλως ποιησετε ἀντιφωνήσαντες ἡμῖν*, i. e. 'we beg the favour of an answer.' In the same manner, v. 22. *καὶ νυν ἀφ' οὗ ἐγνώκαμεν ταῦτα, καλως ποιησετε γραφόντες ἡμῖν περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ὑμῶν, ορθως ποιησεις ἀποστείλας μοι ἀνδρας*. To apply then the use of an epistolary expression in the book of Maccabees to a similar one in the Acts of the Apostles, the epistle which was written by the Apostles and Elders of Jerusalem contained no command, but simply a request "to abstain from certain matters which might be offensive to the Jews".

But the use of these critical resources must not be carried to the extreme, nor must the sense, which a word has received in the Septuagint and Apocrypha, be preferred in all cases to that, which is given it by the Greek authors. An error of this nature has been committed, Rom. iii. 25. where *ἱλαστήριον* has been taken in the same sense of 'mercy seat,' or covering of the ark of the covenant. Kypke<sup>12</sup> has properly preferred the translation 'propitiatory sacrifice.'

A knowledge of the Hebrew and the Syriac, (under which latter language I include the Chaldee) on account of the Hebraisms, and still more on account of the Syriacisms, which are not to be learned from the Septuagint, is absolutely indispensable. An acquaintance with the Arabic, though useful in many passages, I will not enumerate in the list of requisites; but the Talmudical and Rabbinical dialect is much more necessary for the understanding of the New Testament, than of the Old. Whole books of the Old Testament may be explained without once referring to a Talmudical expression; and the language of the Rabbins is too modern to be applied to what was written before the Babylonish captivity, or even so late as the age of Malachi: but they must both be very frequently applied in expounding the New Testament,

<sup>12</sup> *Πορνεία* in this passage signifies not 'fornication.'



tament, especially in the Sermon on the Mount, and the epistle to the Romans. Divines therefore, who confine their studies to the Greek Testament alone, and without learning the Oriental languages aspire to the title of Theologians, lead not only themselves into error, but those to whom they undertake to communicate instruction: and I may venture to affirm, that no man is capable of understanding the New Testament, unless to an acquaintance with the Greek, he joins a knowledge of at least Hebrew, Syriac, and Rabbinic.

It may be replied, that if requisites like these are indispensable, it is no easy matter to attain a knowledge of the sacred writings. The fact is not to be denied, and few profane authors are so difficult as the Greek Testament; but I shall be less exposed to the charge of derogating from the perspicuity of the Divine Oracles, as a very learned Theologian by profession, the celebrated Ernesti; has maintained the same opinion in his *Dissertatio de difficultate interpretationis grammaticæ Novi Testamenti*. It may likewise be objected, that, in delineating the character of a Theologian, I have laid down qualifications as necessary, which lie beyond the reach of common abilities. Now every artist, in forming an image, which is to serve as a pattern of beauty, endeavours to render it as perfect as possible, even though its various excellencies were never united in a single object. But the description, which I have made of a consummate Theologian, is by no means ideal; the qualities which I have required have been attained by many, and ought to be attained by all who undertake to expound the Word of God. If proper alterations were made in the public schools, the student in divinity might, on leaving the university, be provided with a sufficient fund of biblical literature. It is true, the knowledge which is acquired in those seats of learning must be considered only as a beginning, which future study must bring to perfection; but when a good foundation has been laid, the scholar will hardly suppose that future idleness is to be the reward of former industry. Even the clergy who reside in  
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the country might prosecute their studies to advantage, and make great advances in the knowledge of the Bible, if a faulty education threw not obstacles in the way, which they have no inclination to surmount.

Those, who have neither opportunity nor abilities to acquire sufficient knowledge to investigate for themselves, must at least be in possession of so much as is requisite to profit from the learned industry of others, and to apply to the New Testament those treasures of Grecian and Oriental literature, which their predecessors have presented to their hands. But a man unacquainted with the Septuagint, and the classic authors, can form no judgment of the critical remarks, which have been made on the language of the New Testament; nor determine whether the meaning ascribed to a word be literal or figurative, the sense in which it is usually taken, or only such as extensive reading can ratify by the authority of but two or three examples. He can have no idea of what is called interpretative probability, and is unavoidably exposed to the danger of giving the same credit to a false interpretation, as to the true. In short, he can see only with foreign eyes, and believe on the authority of others, but he can have no conviction himself, a conviction, without which no man should presume to preach the Gospel, even to a country congregation.

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#### S E C T. XIV.

*The remarks of the foregoing section confirmed by the experience of what has hitherto been performed or neglected in expounding the New Testament.*

**I**F it be inquired, in what manner these sources of biblical criticism have hitherto been used, whether they have contributed to explain obscure and important passages, and whether they have been so far exhausted, as to preclude the labours of future critics, the answer will confirm the truth of the preceding observations.

With respect to the Hebrew, and where this language is deficient, the Arabic, I have nothing to add to the remarks on the former section. The former has been applied with very great success<sup>1</sup>, though in some examples it has been misapplied by men of real learning; a circumstance which renders it the more necessary to be able to judge for ourselves. Ernesti<sup>2</sup> has contended that מוסדות signifies 'quibus aliquid constat,' 'rei summa,' and from thence explains σοιχεία, 2 Pet. iii. 70. 12. but no critic in the Oriental languages can allow that מוסדות admits this sense, nor is it rendered by σοιχεία in a single instance of the Septuagint.

The Rabbinical and Talmudical languages have been used frequently, and to great advantage, in explaining as well Jewish customs and doctrines, which occur in the New Testament, as Rabbinical words and phrases. Lightfoot and Schoetgen<sup>3</sup> have cultivated this branch of learning with the most success, from whose works Wetstein has selected and abridged the most essential parts, and given them in his notes to the New Testament. He has collected into a moderate compass very important materials; and where the conciseness of his observations has rendered them obscure, it is easy to refer to the originals, from which he has extracted. Much, however, remains to be performed, as appears from the fifth section of this chapter: but as it can seldom be expected from an expounder of the New Testament, that he should make the Talmud and the writings of the Rabbins his daily lecture, it is much to be wished that some one among the learned, who has made them his particular study<sup>4</sup>, would contribute remarks of this nature to the New Testament, avoiding at the same time that superfluity, which not seldom defeats the end for which similar collections have been made.

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<sup>1</sup> De difficultate interpretationis grammaticæ Novi Testamenti, § 20.

The passage on which he grounds his explanation, viz. 2 Sam. xxii. 8. admits another explanation, which is very poetical, though מוסדות still retains its usual sense. See the 44th remark on Lowth de sacra poesi Hebræorum.

The Syriac has hitherto been little used in commentaries on the New Testament<sup>s</sup>, of which the reason is the narrow principle on which that language has been learnt, its study having been wholly confined to the Syriac version of the Bible. Here then a new and extensive field lies open to the learned, who have leisure and abilities to expound the New Testament by passages from the Syriac authors; but great caution must be used in order to make a choice collection, and not to ascribe the character of a Syriaism to a phrase that is likewise Greek. Whatever remarks of this nature have occurred in the course of my reading, I have noted in the margin of Wetstein's New Testament, and my father had collected materials for a dissertation, to be entitled, *Lumina Syriaca illustrando N. T.* Should I ever publish the dissertations, which he left considerably augmented with manuscript notes, I might be disposed to subjoin these materials in the state in which I have received them.

The Septuagint, by far the richest source, has been used with great success; but as not the half of its treasures has been employed in explaining the New Testament, an intimate knowledge of this version is the more necessary for every Theologian. Of those who have written notes to the New Testament in the manner of Raphel, Kypke has made the most frequent use of the Septuagint. Wetstein likewise has made a very judicious and happy application of it in his learned notes, but it is necessary likewise for the reader to refer to the respective passages, as he has not always quoted the words themselves, or mentioned the design of the quotation.

Latin is of course understood by every one who reads the Greek Testament; and with respect to the Persisms, all that is necessary to be remarked has been mentioned above, with the observation that the subject has hitherto not engaged the attention of the learned.

Raphel affords an excellent example to those who would make collections from the pure Greek writers with a view of illustrating the New Testament, and the remarks which he has drawn from Xenophon, Polybius,

Arrian, and Herodotus, are classical in their kind<sup>6</sup>. Elser and Alberti<sup>7</sup> have adopted nearly the same method; but the observations of Raphel are more important. The most material parts of the writings of these critics may be found in the notes of Wetstein, who has added an infinity of original remarks, having consulted authors neglected by most philologists, especially the Greek physicians. It is true that Wetstein has collected examples that relate not immediately to the New Testament; he regarded his work too much in the light of a commonplace book, and introduced materials which belong rather to a Lexicon, a circumstance which has caused many of the notes to be overlooked that are truly valuable. Another imperfection is the too frequent omission of the object he had in view in making a quotation, and the want of a Latin translation of the Greek passages renders it sometimes difficult to determine what sense he intended to ascribe to the word in question, especially where the quotation is too short to judge from the connexion. It is proper therefore to consult the originals from which he has taken them; and this is the more necessary, as I have observed in many places that words are omitted, on which the sense of the whole passage in a great measure depends. Whoever wishes to derive all possible advantage from Wetstein's edition of the New Testament, should be in possession of a good library, though a classical scholar may in most cases form a tolerable judgement even without this assistance.

Kypke's *Observationes sacræ in Novum Testamentum*<sup>8</sup>, which are executed on a similar but more extensive plan than that of Raphel, were published soon after Wetstein's New Testament, but he had never seen this edition before the publication of his own remarks. In the preface he expressed his apprehensions of having quoted the same passages which Wetstein had already produced, and experience has shewn them to be grounded; to the honour of both critics, and of the subject itself. When two men of profound learning, who conduct their studies on a similar plan, but prosecute their in-  
quiries

quiries independently of each other, in explaining a text of the New Testament quote the very same passage from a classic author, and that in repeated instances, it is a proof not only that the text in question was in need of explanation, but that the passages in the quoted authors had a striking similarity to those in the New Testament. Of all the expositions of the New Testament, conducted on principles like these, I know of none that are superior, or indeed equal to those of Kypke. They are written without pedantry or an affectation of learning; and contain all that is important, without being encumbered with extraneous matter.

Carpzov and Krebs<sup>9</sup>, whose writings Wetstein had not consulted, either because they were published too late, or because he had no knowledge of them, harmonize with this critic in the result of their enquiries, in a manner which reflects honour on each; the former has selected passages from Philo, and applied them to the exposition of the epistles to the Romans, and the Hebrews; the latter has extracted from Josephus, with reference to the New Testament in general. They have both contributed largely to biblical criticism, but the advantages, which remain to be derived from Philo and Josephus, are more than can be easily imagined. If a man of learning who has studied these Greek writers only in his leisure hours, has yet made a very considerable collection in addition to that of Carpzov and Krebs, not through ostentation, but merely in regard to passages in the New Testament which are really obscure, it can no longer remain a doubt that Philo and Josephus still contain inestimable treasures.

Palairet and Muenthe deserve likewise to be mentioned, though the rank, which they occupy, is much inferior. The former published, in 1752, *Observationes philologico-criticæ in sacros novi fœderis libros, quorum plurima loca ex auctoribus potissimum Græcis expountur, illustrantur, vindicantur*. This writer had an immense fund of Grecian literature; but a passion for displaying his learning, on every even useless occasion,  
united

united with a total want of judgement, has produced a rude and indigested mass, which at times only discovers an useful observation. Muenthe published in 1755 *Observationes in N. T. ex Didoro Siculo*; in which his principal object was to defend the purity of the style of the New Testament; yet, though it contains many useful remarks, a great part of the work is superfluous<sup>10</sup>.

If it be asked, whether these collections, and especially those of Raphel and Kypke, have essentially contributed to explain the New Testament, I hesitate not a moment to pronounce in the affirmative. Ernesti, unquestionably a master of the Greek language, and celebrated in the republic of letters, entertains a different opinion, but on what grounds he supports that opinion I have never been able to discover. He says that Elsner, the best of these critics, has hardly ten remarks of any consequence. Now ten remarks that render intelligible ten passages of the New Testament, which before were obscure, are not to be rejected with contempt; and if every critic contributed in the same proportion, we should make no inconsiderable progress in exegetical knowledge. But it seems extraordinary that Ernesti should have mentioned Elsner in particular, and not Raphel, who had taken the lead in this kind of criticism, and given a philological explanation of many more than ten passages which before his time appeared inexplicable.

Before actual experience had confirmed the fact, it was indeed not reasonable to suppose that the classic authors could have been applied with so much success in the exposition of the New Testament, as the Apostles have neither formed their style, nor immediately borrowed their expressions from these writers. But the fact is undeniable, nor is it impossible to assign a reason. Whoever undertakes to write a language, to which he is not accustomed from his youth, selects not at all times the words which are most usual among the best writers, and are universally understood; he recollects indeed classical expressions, but applies them in a sense, which deviates in some measure from the common one; an au-  
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thor thus circumstanced may write Greek, but his Greek will stand in need of a commentary". The case is the same in writing modern languages, of which we are not perfect masters; we adopt on many occasions a proper expression, though not that which is commonly applied to that purpose by the natives themselves.

A passage, which has been mentioned above, Rom. iii. 25. may serve here as an example. Ernesti<sup>7</sup> has called upon those who translate ἱλαστηριον 'expiatory sacrifice,' to produce an instance where it is actually used in this sense, and secondly where it is thus used in Jewish Greek, and where προτιθεσθαι is applied to sacrifices<sup>12</sup>. The last of these demands has been fulfilled by Kypke<sup>13</sup>; he also contributed to the fulfilling of the first, to which Krebs has more completely answered by producing a passage from Josephus, in which ἱλαστηριον is used precisely in this meaning. It is taken from the seventh section of his book on the Maccabees. Josephus, having previously observed that the blood of the martyrs had made atonement for their countrymen, and that they were ὡπερ ἀντιψυχον (victima substituta) της τε εθνικης αμαρτιας, continues as follows, και δια τε αιματος των ευσεβων εκεινων, και τε ἱλαστηριε τε θανατε αυτων η θεια προνοια του Ισραηλ διεσωσε. The second demand<sup>14</sup> is too unreasonable to deserve any answer, since it implies that the writers of the New Testament have never preferred the classical meaning of a word to that which is given it by the Seventy. It occasioned however Krebs to waver in his opinion, as he could find no passage in the Septuagint, where ἱλαστηριον was used precisely in this meaning, though it is not impossible that the Seventy in using this expression for כַּפָּרָה, intended to convey the additional idea of expiation. But an answer may be given by quoting a passage from Symmachus, who, though he wrote better Greek than either the Seventy, Aquila, or Theodotion, is not to be wholly excluded from the class of Hebraic writers. Even Montfaucon allows that his writings are not free from He-

<sup>7</sup> In his *Essay de Interpretatione Grammatica Librorum imprimis Sacrorum*, p. 224. of his *Opuscula Philologico Critica*.

Hebraisms, though they occur but seldom, “*Hebraismos raro sectatur*”<sup>15</sup>. This Symmachus has translated וּכְפָרָה בְּכַפֵּר, *ιλασεις ιλαστηριον*<sup>15</sup>, Gen. vi. 14.

But after the learned labours of many eminent critics, it might be supposed that the subject was exhausted, and that all the passages of the classic authors, which tend to illustrate the obscurities of the New Testament, were already collected. Yet I can declare from my own experience, that what remains to be executed, is sufficient to engage the attention of future critics: since during the leisure hours which I have been able to bestow on the reading of the classics, I have selected for the purpose from the Greek writers as many examples hitherto unquoted, as would fill a volume in the manner of Raphael. Nor is an exception to be made to the authors whose works have been before extracted; it is true, that Philo and Josephus have been used to great advantage, but the gleanings which remain to be collected, are perhaps of more value than the harvest already gathered.

The word *παράκλητος*<sup>16</sup> affords a proof of the foregoing observation. Ernesti has very properly remarked, that it signifies neither Advocate nor Comforter, and adds, *ego certissimum arbitror παρακλητον, ubi de Spiritu Sancto dicitur, nihil aliud significare quam doctorem, magistrum, divinæque veritatis interpretem*. I agree with him in his opinion of the impropriety of the common translation, though, instead of doctor or magister, I would rather use monitor. The meaning which he has given it, has been adopted by many, yet his mode of demonstration is somewhat extraordinary, for, instead of attempting to discover *παράκλητος* in a classic author, and explain its meaning from actual use, he has recourse to the verb from which it is derived, and the assistance of a pretended Hebraism<sup>16</sup>. He says, the Jews borrowed the word פִּרְקָלִיט from the Greeks, and that this word was probably used by Christ himself. But פִּרְקָלִיט is taken in the Chaldee language in no other sense than that of Advocate,

<sup>15</sup> *Praeliminaria in Hexapla Originis*, p. 54. Cap. vi. § 5.

<sup>16</sup> John xiv. 16.

cate<sup>b</sup>, and if Christ, in speaking Chaldee, made use of Praklita, Ernesti's own argument is a proof against him<sup>17</sup>. If παρακλητος, according to the rule which he has prescribed in explaining ιλαστηριον, can have no other meaning than that which is given it by the Seventy, or Jewish Greek writers, the inference is equally unfavourable, for the Seventy have used παρακλητορες, Aquila and Théodotion παρακλητοι for the Hebrew מְנַחֵם, which signifies 'Comforter,' Job xvi. 2. But the sense of παρακλητος in the New Testament may be determined at once from the authority of a Greek writer, whom Ernesti compared with Plato and Demosthenes, and who thought his language too pure to have been understood by St. Paul. Philo de Mundi Opificio, p. 5. of the edition by Mangey, has the following passage: Ουδενι παρακλητω, (τις γαρ ην ετερος;) μονω δ' εαυτω χρησαμενος ο Θεος εγνω δειν ευεργετειν αταμιευτοις και πλεσiais χαρισι την ανευ δωρεας θειας φυσιν επιλαχειν εξ εαυτης εδενος αγαθη δυναμενην, where εδενι παρακλητω evidently signifies sine monitore, or nemine monente<sup>18</sup>. This passage Ernesti had undoubtedly read, but it is often difficult to recollect examples at the time their application might be useful, and hence the necessity of collectors, who submit to the literary labours of bringing the scattered materials as it were into a public treasury.

The most important example of the happy application of Greek literature is offered by πορνεια, Acts xv. 20. 29. xxi 25. which has divided in religious sentiments whole churches and nations, and produced no trifling uneasiness and disputes in modern ages. It is inconceivable how πορνεια, if it signifies 'fornication,' could have been enumerated among certain matters from which the Gentile converts to Christianity were requested to abstain, merely to avoid offending the weakness of their Jewish brethren; and the unavoidable consequence of this translation is, that it is as great a crime to eat blood, things strangled, or meats offered to idols, as to commit fornication, an opinion which many divines have maintained

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<sup>b</sup> See Buxtorf's Lexicon Talmud. Rabbinicum, p. 1143.

on the authority of this text of scripture. I have remarked above, that *πορνεία*, in the sense of fornication, is unknown to the classic writers, though common in the Septuagint and the New Testament; yet examples may be produced of this unusual word, but in a totally different meaning. Julius Pollux, Lib. IX. § 34. says that in sea-port towns, the *εμποριον*, or square adjoining to the harbour, where the merchants assembled to transact business, was divided into *καπηλεια*, *και πορνεια*, *α και οικηματα αν τις ειποι*, which has been translated, even in the edition of 1706, by ‘taverns and brothels,’ an error arising from the too early use of the New Testament. But it seems incredible, that Julius Pollux should intend to enumerate houses of open debauchery among the buildings essential to a public exchange. Every learner of the Greek language knows that *πορνη*, in whatever sense it is to be taken, is derived from *παραω*, to purchase, and the *Etymologicum magnum* may be consulted under the article *πλεπω*, to sell. *Καπηλεια* and *πορνεια*, evidently denote ‘wine-houses’ and ‘cooks-shops’ which, as Pollux says, were likewise called *οικηματα*. *Πορνεια* therefore in conjunction with *πνικτον* and *αιμα*, signifies meat sold in the public shops, or in the open market (in the same manner as *χοιρεια* signifies ‘pork,’ for the word is properly an adjective, and is used as such by a Greek poet\* of the middle ages) which the Jews scrupled to eat, through the fear of its being part of an animal which had been sacrificed in a heathen temple<sup>9</sup>.

James v. 12. Above all things, my brethren, swear not, neither by heaven, neither by the earth, neither by any other oath; but let your yea be yea, and your nay, nay, *ινα μη εις υποκρισιν πεσητε*, where *υποκρισις* has been rendered by ‘diffimulation,’ and no one has had recourse to the classic writers, who use it in the sense of ‘answer.’ *Υποκρινομαι* is used by Herodotus in the same sense as *αποκρινομαι*. See Book I. Ch. II. *τας δε υποκρινασθαι*. It is used in the same sense by Homer, and in the *Lexicon of Apol-*

\* See Du Fresnoe *Glossarium mediæ et infimæ Græcitatæ*, p. 1204.

Apollonius<sup>d</sup> on Homer, p. 812. is the following passage,

υποκριναιτο] αποκριναιτο  
 Ωδε χ' υποκριναιτο Θεοπροπος  
 και παλιν  
 Σοι δ' ωδε μνηστῆρες υποκρινονται  
 Ενθεν και υποκριται, πρωταγωνισεντος γαρ τη  
 χορευ το ωαλαιον ετοι ωσπερ αποκριναι εισαν,  
 αποκρινομενοι προς τον χορον.

So likewise Suidas, Tom. III. p. 556. Alberti also has translated υποκρινομαι, respondeo, Matth. vi. 2. This passage therefore of St. James signifies, 'swear not, but speak the simple truth, that ye may not be guilty of a crime in answering.' Υποκρινομαι is used in the same sense, Isaiah iii. 6. και υποκριθεις εν τη ημερα εκεινη ερει εκ εσομαι σε αρχηγος, where some of the manuscripts have αποκριθεις<sup>20</sup>. From υποκρινεσθαι, in the sense of respondeo, is borrowed the meaning of υποκριτης in the phrase υποκριτης ονειρων<sup>e</sup>, an interpreter of dreams, properly one who answers when consulted on a dream. This may be applied to explain υποκριται, Matth. xvi. 3. Luke xii. 56. where, instead of having reference to dreams, it refers to the weather, or the seasons<sup>21</sup>. But this application of the passage in Lucian is already known<sup>f</sup>.

In explaining Rom. x. 18. which is taken from Psalm xix. 5. the commentators have not been able to assign a reason why 𐤒𐤓 is translated by the Seventy ο φθγγος αυτων<sup>22</sup>. Some have contended that 𐤒𐤓 may signify 'a sound,' from the Arabic قو 'to cry aloud:' but this is a grammatical error, for the Hebrew quiescents in the third radical He, correspond not to the Arabic verbs in He, but to those in Vau or Je<sup>23</sup>. Others are of opinion, that

<sup>d</sup> Apollonii Sophistæ Lexicon Græcum Iliadis et Odysseæ, e Codice MS. Sangermanensi in lucem vindicavit Johannes Baptista Casparus d' Anſſe de Villoison. Lutetiæ Parisiorum, 1773.

<sup>e</sup> Luciani Somnium, § 17. Tom. I. p. 22. ed. Reitz.

<sup>f</sup> Raphel in his Annotationes ex Herodoto has thus applied it in a note to Luke xii. 56.

that the Seventy read not  $\text{קו}$  but  $\text{קל}$ , but this opinion is improbable, as  $\text{קל}$ , which occurs so frequently, is no where translated  $\phi\theta\omicron\gamma\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ . Now if we refer to the Greek writers for the use of  $\phi\theta\omicron\gamma\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ , the whole becomes clear. It signifies, 1. the tone of a musical instrument; 2. the string itself which produces the sound<sup>24</sup>. Josephus Antiquit. VII. 12. 3.  $\eta \mu\epsilon\iota\upsilon \kappa\iota\nu\upsilon\rho\alpha \delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha \chi\omicron\rho\delta\alpha\iota\varsigma \epsilon\zeta\eta\mu\mu\epsilon\nu\eta \dots \eta \delta\epsilon \nu\alpha\beta\lambda\alpha \delta\omega\kappa\epsilon\kappa\alpha \phi\theta\omicron\gamma\gamma\omicron\varsigma \epsilon\chi\epsilon\sigma\alpha$ , where  $\phi\theta\omicron\gamma\gamma\omicron\varsigma$  and  $\chi\omicron\rho\delta\eta$  have manifestly the same meaning<sup>25</sup>. Another instance may be taken from Theodoret<sup>26</sup>, who, though an ecclesiastical writer, had the Greek language at his command, and in this passage has certainly not borrowed from the Septuagint<sup>26</sup>,  $\text{Ανα δεκα φθογγας και αυτη (ναυλα) ακεινη (κινυρα) εχει}$ . Lucian de Fossione Isthmi, § 6. Vol. III. p. 640, of the edition of Reitz, speaking of the accompaniment of musical instruments uses  $\phi\theta\omicron\gamma\gamma\omicron\varsigma$  in the same sense<sup>27</sup>. The Seventy therefore might very properly use it for  $\text{קל}$ , which signifies originally 'thread,' and is applied to the strings of an harp, which were first made of twisted hemp<sup>28</sup>. The idea of the music of the heavens, was Pythagorean, and therefore not unknown in Egypt: it is likewise used by Philo in his treatise *Quod a Deo mittantur somnia*, Tom. I. p. 625.

The word  $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omega\mu\alpha$  presents us with an example of a different kind, which I give rather as a conjecture than as an instance on which I could venture to speak with certainty. There are two passages in the epistle to the Romans, where the meaning usually ascribed to this word in the Septuagint and the New Testament seems to be unsuitable to the context. Rom. v. 18. Judgement came upon all to condemnation,  $\delta\iota \epsilon\upsilon\omicron\varsigma \pi\alpha\rho\alpha\pi\tau\omega\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ , but the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life,  $\delta\iota \epsilon\upsilon\omicron\varsigma \delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omega\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ , which is translated *per unum rectefactum*, or *per unius rectefactum*. The question here naturally arises in what did this single meritorious action consist?  $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omega\mu\alpha$  in the sense of *recte factum* seems not perfectly applicable to the passive obedience of Christ (as it is called by the Dogmatists), in suffering death on the

the cross, and his active obedience consisted not in a single good action only, but in a continued series of virtuous deeds, and an inviolable observation of the will of God, under all temptations to the contrary<sup>a</sup>. Wolf, the philologer, and Senior of Hamburg, makes an unsuccessful attempt to explain it by the *satisfactio* of Aristotle, who meant that *δικαιωμα* ought not to signify a virtuous action, but atonement for a vitious action: but as etymology is less prevalent than custom, in determining the use of words, *δικαιωμα* preserved the same meaning after the time of Aristotle as before. There is equal difficulty in explaining the other passage, Rom. viii. 4. where God is said to have punished sin in Christ, *ἵνα το δικαιωμα τε νομου πληρωθη εν ημιν τοις μη κατα σαρκα περιπατεσι αλλα κατα πνευμα*. Now the question is, how *δικαιωμα τε νομου* can be fulfilled in us, since St. Paul contends that *ο νομος*, the law itself is abolished<sup>1</sup>. Some of the commentators say that *δικαιωματα* signifies those precepts of the law which are at the same time agreeable to the law of nature; but this interpretation is very arbitrary. Grotius contended that *δικαιωματα* relates to the Levitical and Civil law of the Jews, which was as positively denied by Hammond: this is certain that the Seventy use it indifferently for *קח* and *חַשַׁם*, and Hebr. ix. 1. it relates undoubtedly to the Levitical doctrines. But both of the above-mentioned passages become perfectly clear, as soon as we ascribe to *δικαιωμα* a sense in which it was frequently used by the classic writers, namely, that of ‘punishment,’ or ‘condemnation to punishment.’ The first instance then, Rom. v. 18. will signify ‘as by the offence of one, judgment came upon all men to condemnation, even so by the punishment to which one person submitted, the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life.’ The other instance, Rom. viii. 3, 4. ‘God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, condemned sin in the flesh: that the condemnation of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit.’

<sup>a</sup> See my Treatise on Dogmatic Theology, § 138.

<sup>1</sup> Ch. vi, vii, viii.



Spirit.' The condemnation of the law is, that sin, or, as St. Paul expresses it, the deeds of the body, shall die. The passages from profane authors, in which *δικαίωμα* is used in this sense, may be seen in the 122 section of my *Theologia Dogmatica*\*: Suidas likewise may be consulted, Tom. I. p. 586. under *δικαίων*, 587. *δικαίωσαν* and *δικαιώματα*, at the end of the article *δικαίωμα*. P. 679. *εδικαιώθησαν* and *εδικαίωσαν*. Also Julius Pollux, Lib. VIII. § 25. Thucydides, Lib. VIII. c. lxvi. with Wesseling's note, Herodotus, Lib. I. c. xlii. Lib. V. c. xcii. § 2. I will quote the words of this last passage, because the Latin translation even in Wesseling's edition is false. The oracle foretelling that Kypselus, a cruel tyrant, would rule over the Corinthians, says 'Labda will conceive and bring forth a stone, that will fall hard on the party of the nobles,' *δικαιώσει δὲ Κορινθίον*. Now it is evident from the sequel that *puniet Corinthum, not emendabit Corinthum*, is the proper translation: for it is said, § 5. that Kypselus, having made himself master of the sovereign authority, banished many of the Corinthians, deprived many of their property, and still more of their lives; such a tyrant can hardly be said *urbem emendare*<sup>29</sup>.

Such instances occur continually in reading the classic authors; and whenever the avocations of my profession prevent me from taking proper notice of them, I cannot help lamenting that we have not more critics, who follow the examples of Raphel, Carpzov, and Kypke. Horne-mann of Copenhagen has made Philo his particular study, and, had he met with more encouragement, would perhaps have rendered great service to biblical criticism. But of all the classic authors which deserve to be studied, with a view of illustrating the New Testament, Plato stands in the foremost rank, from whose works many obscure passages of the New Testament might receive the greatest light. Nor do I confine my wishes for the promotion of exegetical learning to University Professors, who are too often prevented by multiplicity of business from quitting the beaten path in search of critical discoveries.

\* Or § 162. of the German edition.

veries. The pastoral office of the country clergy fills only a small portion of their time, and as happiness consists in the continual exercise of our talents, it might be hoped that many would employ their learning and their leisure in the pursuit of enquiries, where they would be naturally rewarded by the satisfaction of making new discoveries, and by an honourable rank in the republic of letters. The study of a Greek author is in itself agreeable and useful, and it must be doubly interesting to a clergyman, if, beside the pleasure arising from the author itself, he reads with the particular view of contributing to explain a work of such importance as the New Testament. But in researches of this nature, care must be taken to collect only what is new, and elucidate what is really obscure.

Little use has hitherto been made of the Greek inscriptions, and here the widest field is open for a theological critic, as most of them afford assistance in expounding words which are not purely classic. Gesner in some of his speeches before the Academy of Sciences at Göttingen, has made a very happy application of several inscriptions taken from Pococke to difficult passages of the New Testament, and it is to be sincerely wished that others might be induced to follow his example.

After all the learned labours of the commentators on the New Testament, there still remain numerous words and phrases where it is necessary either to confirm the old or discover a new meaning by examples from the Greek authors, in which they are used in a similar connexion. A man versed in the writings of the Greeks will often find in the New Testament expressions which, though they sound not foreign to his ear, he is unable to confirm by authorities. Of such the following are examples <sup>30</sup>.

*Αφιδρων*, intestinum rectum <sup>31</sup>, Matth. xv. 17. Mark vii. 19. which most of the commentators have very falsely explained, not excepting Wetstein, who, from an omission in his quotation from Suidas, has proved the contrary of what he intended to demonstrate <sup>32</sup>, might receive great light from the works of the Greek physicians <sup>33</sup>,

from which we might discover, whether *αφιδρω* were not sometimes used in a more extensive sense for the intestines in general, it being an old objection to this speech of Christ, that animal food is not concocted in the *intestinum rectum* <sup>34</sup>. It must however be confessed that the Greek word is not so decisive in the present instance, as the Syriac word ܠܡܥܠ <sup>35</sup>, which was used by Christ on this occasion.

Mark iv. 29. *οταν παραδω*. I have found two examples<sup>1</sup> which are applicable to this phrase, but a clear and decisive instance is still wanting.

Luke xi. 33. *κρυπτη*. This word fails even in the Lexicons which have been composed for the New Testament, such as Pasor's, and others of like nature, the reason of which probably, is, that several copies have *κρυπτον*. But *κρυπτην* is the most usual, and I believe, the true reading; it is therefore extraordinary that no notice should be taken of it, not only by the Lexicographers, but also by many of the commentators on the New Testament. Its meaning is undoubtedly the same as that of the Latin word *crypta*, as Stephanus has properly observed in his *Thesaurus*. And this meaning is admirably adapted to the context: an honest man lights not his candle in a vault, but in an open house. But no example has hitherto been produced where *κρυπτη* is used by a Greek author. Now I found an instance in Strabo, Lib. V. p. 377. (or 246.) *διωρυξ κρυπτη*, and another in Josephus, *Antiquit.* XV. 11. 7. *κατεσκευασθη δε και κρυπτη διωρυξ*. But these are not quite satisfactory <sup>37</sup>, *κρυπτη* being used as an adjective, whereas in the above passage of St. Luke it is used as a substantive; but I acknowledge  
this

An anonymous Greek translator in Montfaucon's *Hexapla Origenis* has, *η συκη η μη παραδω τον καρπον*, Habbakuk iii. 17. He seems to have read ܐܬܝܬܐ, and has used *παραδδω* nearly in the same sense as St. Mark, with this difference that the verb is followed by an accusative, which the latter has omitted <sup>36</sup>. The other example is in Philo de *Mundi Opificio*, Tom. I. p. 9. where, after describing the causes of the growth of fruit, he adds *προς ογκον επιδιδως τελειοτατον*. It is true that the compound word used by Philo is not the same as that in St. Mark, nor are the two constructions wholly similar.

this to be rather a case of curiosity, than a matter of doubt. If no example can be produced from a classic author, it is probable that the use of *κρυπτη* as a substantive, was peculiar to the Greeks of Italy and Sicily, from whose dialect it was transferred to the Latin language, and *κρυπτη* may in that respect be referred to the Latinisms of St. Luke.

Luke xvii. 20. *παρατηρησις* is hitherto without example<sup>38</sup>, nor is it to be found in the Lexicons of Suidas and Julius Pollux, though the former has *παρατηρηματα*<sup>39</sup>. Its meaning therefore can be had only from conjecture, and the opinions of the learned have been very different.

John i. 13. Required an example where *αιμα* is used in the plural number, and in a similar sense<sup>40</sup>.

John i. 14. *σαρξ εγενετο*. In the sentences of Secundus, p. 88. of Schier's edition, is *νης σεσαρκωμενος*, and p. 92. *σεσαρκωμενη ευτυχια*<sup>41</sup>. But I wish to have an instance where the thought is expressed in the same words.

John i. 16. *χαριν αντι χαριτος*<sup>42</sup>.

John ii. 19. Required an example where *ναος* is used for a body containing a divine soul. Examples must be sought against the Pythagorean writers<sup>43</sup>. See also *Somnium Scipionis*, c. viii<sup>m</sup>.

John iii. 13. Required an example where *ειναι* is used in the sense of 'to dwell,' and applied to a person removed from his place of abode<sup>45</sup>.

John iv. 37. Required an example where *ειναι εν* is used to express the fulfilling of a proverbial saying<sup>46</sup>.

Acts vii. 53. *νομον λαμβανειν εις διαταγας αγγελων*. I have collected many examples not generally known, which tend to illustrate single words in this passage; but I wish to see an example of the whole passage, any other genitive being used instead of *αγγελων*<sup>47</sup>.

*Καταργειν* as used by St. Paul<sup>48</sup>. See the beginning of the 8<sup>th</sup>. § of this chap. and Le Clerc's note to Rom. vi. 16.  
Rom.

<sup>m</sup> There is a similar though not the same expression in Philo, Tom. I. p. 197. Likewise in the Syriac Chrestomathy, p. 5. Christ is called the temple of the eternal son: but this perhaps was borrowed from the passage in question, and therefore not pure Syriac<sup>44</sup>.

Rom. v. 2. Ephes. ii. 18, iii. 12. *προσαγωγή*. This word seems to me to express the privilege of approach to the person of an Oriental sovereign, in the same manner as *entrée* is sometimes used in French. Examples may be found of *προσαγωγεις*, but none of *προταγωγή* used in this sense<sup>49</sup>. A passage in Diodorus Siculus<sup>50</sup>, Lib. II. c. 58. *παιηγυρεις και πομπας και προσαγωγας* is not wholly applicable to the use of *προσαγωγή* by St. Paul. Another passage in Thucydides, Lib. I. 82. is here of no use.

Rom. v. 2. *εν η εσηκαμεν*. Required an example where this phrase is used in a similar connexion<sup>51</sup>.

Rom. v. 4. *δοκιμη*, Required an example, from which we might determine which of the three usual explanations is most analogous to the usage of the Greek language. But there is little hope of an answer to this query, as *δοκιμη* seems to be a word peculiar to St. Paul<sup>52</sup>.

Rom. v. 5. *αγαπη τε Θεω εκκεχυται εν ταις καρδιαις ημων δια πνευματος αγιου*. We are generally informed by the commentators whence this expression might have taken its origin, but an instance of its actual use would be much more satisfactory<sup>53</sup>.

Rom. vi. 17. *παράδωκεν ΕΙΣ τυπον*, on the supposition that the common construction is the true one, and to be preferred to the amendment proposed by Kypke<sup>54</sup>.

Rom. viii. 4, 5. Can *καρποφορησαι* be here used in the sense of *pario*, and did St. Paul intend to express the notion of marrying Sin to bear children to Death? I really believe he did<sup>55</sup>. See the 43<sup>d</sup>. Sentence of Demophilus, and Philo. de Dei immutabilitate, Tom. I. p. 273. but I wish to have an instance in which *καρποφορησαι* itself is used.

Rom. xiii. 12. *οπλα φωτος*<sup>56</sup>.

Rom. xv. 28. *σφραγισαμενος αυτοις τον καρπον*<sup>57</sup>.

Rom. xvi. 25. *σηριξαι κατα*<sup>58</sup>.

1 Cor. iii. 1. *σαρκινοι* (according to the best authorities for *σαρκικοι*), Required an example of this word in a sense suitable to the passage in St. Paul<sup>59</sup>.

1 Cor. vii. 18. *εν τοις τοιςτοις*, these words are generally translated 'in such cases.' But the expression is attended with

with obscurity, which I wish to see removed by an example<sup>60</sup>.

2 Cor. iv. 1. In six manuscripts, among which are the Alexandrine and the Clermont, is read *εγκακουμεν*<sup>61</sup>. This word is found only in Symmachus and Theodotion, Gen. xxvii. 46. Numb. xxi. 5. Prov. iii. 11. where it has the same meaning with *εκακειν*<sup>62</sup>, but this sense is not very suitable to the context of the present passage, for the two expressions *κατακακουμεν*, and *απειπαμεθα τα κρυπτα της αισχυνης*, being connected by *αλλα*, necessarily imply an antithesis, which can hardly be discovered between 'perseverance' and the 'avoiding of infamy'<sup>63</sup>. Perhaps *εγκακειν* is capable of another meaning, that of falling into evil, which is analogous to its derivation, and well adapted to the connexion<sup>64</sup>.

Ephes. i. 10. *ανακεφαλαιωσαι* is used in a sense which is hitherto supported by mere conjecture<sup>65</sup>, that which is advanced by Raphel, Koppe, and others, being inapplicable to this passage.

Queries of this nature will very frequently occur, in reading the New Testament, to every man who is able to judge for himself, and therefore capable of doubt. The foregoing have been proposed, not with a view of exciting conjectures in what manner the several passages may be explained, where we have no reason to complain of a deficiency, but in the hope of seeing them confirmed by the discovery of actual examples, not merely single words but entire phrases. As several of the doubts, which I have proposed in a former edition of this work, I have been since able to solve, and omit therefore in the present, there is reason to believe that future critics will produce a solution of those which have been here enumerated, provided they avoid the common error of expounding what is clear in itself, or giving a tenth explanation of a passage which has been nine times explained before, and direct their attention, in studying the classic authors, to such words and phrases of the New Testament, as have been hitherto confirmed by no authorities<sup>66</sup>.

## C H A P. V.

OF THE QUOTATIONS FROM THE OLD TESTAMENT IN  
THE NEW.

## S E C T. I.

*Of passages borrowed, or quoted from the Old Testament in general.*

**W**ITH respect to the passages of the Old Testament, which have been introduced by the Apostles and Evangelists into the writings of the New, an accurate distinction must be made between such, as being merely borrowed, are used as the words of the writer himself, and such, as are quoted in proof of a doctrine, or the completion of a prophecy.

Whenever a book is the subject of our daily lecture it is natural that its phrases should occur to us in writing, sometimes with a perfect recollection of the places from which they are taken, at other times, when the places themselves have totally escaped our memory. Thus the lawyer quotes the maxims of his Corpus Juris, the schoolman the verses of his classics, and the preacher the precepts of his Gospel. It is no wonder therefore, if the same has happened to the writers of the New Testament, who being daily occupied in the study of the Old Testament, unavoidably adopted its modes of expression, or to speak more properly, that of the Greek translation, which they have done in numberless examples; where it is not perceived by the generality of readers, because they are too little acquainted with the Septuagint. The most eminent among the commentators, especially Wetstein, have taken particular pains to mark these passages; many still remain to be noticed, but, having neglected in the course of my reading to note these omissions, I am unable at present to produce an example. An attention to this subject would be no unfruitful labour, as many passages of the New Testament, that were before obscure and uncertain, have derived



rived clearness and precision from the discovery of the places, from which they were taken: for, though a writer, in borrowing and appropriating to his own use the words of another, is not absolutely bound to apply them in the same manner, as the original author, yet the application will in most cases be the same. It has been a matter of dispute among the learned, what meaning should be ascribed to καθαροι, in the expression καθαροι τη καρδια, Matth. v. 8. who, it is said, shall see God; and it has been commonly interpreted of Chastity, as if pure could have no other meaning than chaste. Now the two following verses in the Psalms, from which this expression is taken, render the whole passage clear, ΤΙς αναβησεται εις το ορος του Κυριου; και τις σηπεται εν τοπω αγιω αυτου; Αθως χειρι, και καθαρος τη καρδια, Psal. xxiii. (in the Hebrew xxiv.) 3, 4. Here we must observe, that ‘to see God,’ and ‘to stand in the temple of God,’ were in Hebrew synonymous, and a privilege to be granted only to those, whose hearts were as free from evil inclinations, as their hands from evil actions, which notion Christ undoubtedly had in view, though he meant not to confine the promise to the earthly, but to extend it to the heavenly temple. In the same manner many doubts may be removed in explaining Matth. v. 5. by referring to Psalm xxxvi. (Heb. xxxvii.) 11. Recourse has been had to metaphysical subtilty, in order to discover the meaning of ρημα in the sentence ουκ αδυνατησει παρα του Θεου παν ρημα, Luke i. 27. and it has been contended that ρημα there signifies ‘whatever can be expressed by words,’ consequently whatever can be a subject of thought, or ens in opposition to non ens, which involves a contradiction, and which therefore the Deity cannot perform; but we shall act more sensibly, if setting aside this refinement, we refer immediately to Genesis xviii. 14. from which the whole expression is taken, and where ρημα conveys manifestly the sense of ‘promise’.

I have before observed, that every writer is at liberty to apply to his own purpose the words, which he has borrowed from the writings of another; a liberty which we frequently

frequently take in applying passages from the classic authors. The eleventh verse of the thirty-seventh Psalm above mentioned is a description of the general, though not necessary lot of the virtuous, which passage is applied by Christ probably in a determinate, and prophetic sense, with respect to his future church; and the passage in the twenty-fourth Psalm, which describes the requisites for a worthy approach to an earthly temple, is applied by Christ to a future approach to the Deity in heaven. *ἵνα μὴ ᾖτε παρ' ἑαυτοῖς φρονιμοί*, Rom. xi. 25. is probably taken from Prov. iii. 7. but St. Paul means self-sufficiency in general, whereas the text in the Proverbs implies an opposition to the will of God, *μὴ ἰσθὲς φρονιμος παρὰ σεαυτῷ, φοβῆς δὲ τὸν Θεόν, καὶ ἐκκλινε ἀπὸ πάντων καλῶν.*

Without due attention to these remarks, we are in danger of rendering difficult a matter, which in itself is easy. It is certain, that Rom. x. 18. is borrowed from Psalm xix. 4. yet whoever impartially reads the two passages must observe, that David speaks of the religion of nature, or as he expresses it, the voice of the heavens, whereas St. Paul describes the propagation of the Gospel. Many useless attempts have been made in order to reconcile these two examples, and to prove that they relate to the same subject, either by making St. Paul, contrary to the tenor of the context, speak of natural religion, or David of revealed religion, for which purpose the heavens, sun, and stars, have been taken in a mystical sense, to denote the Church, Christ, and his Apostles. Daniel Heinfius very justly observes, *quod tam usitatum est τοῖς ἔξω, ut vix ullus sit Homeri versus, cujus verba mutato sensu non usurpentur*; a remark which is perfectly applicable to the New Testament, since the verses of Homer are not only applied, as mentioned by Heinfius, but are actually quoted by the Greeks in confirmation of facts, especially by Strabo, as vouchers for the truth of his geographical descriptions; yet no one finds it difficult to distinguish the simply borrowed passages, from such as are quoted as proofs. In borrowing the words

words of a celebrated author, such as Cicero for instance, and appropriating them to our own use, we frequently introduce them with a phrase similar to the following, ‘to speak in the words of Cicero,’ or ‘as Cicero expresses it:’ the Greeks did the same with respect to Homer: and in the very same manner, the writers of the New Testament, in borrowing the words of a sacred author, as Isaiah for example, might apply the formule, ‘as is spoken by the prophet Isaiah,’ without any design of a quotation in its more confined meaning.

The present subject gives rise to an observation respecting the difference, which was made by the Apostles and Evangelists between the canonical, and apocryphal books of the Old Testament. The latter seem to have formed no part of their particular study, as it would be difficult, and perhaps impossible, to produce a single instance in the New Testament, of a quotation from the Apocrypha, though numberless words, and phrases are common to both, derived from the same source, the Jewish Greek. An inference deduced from this remark will in the sequel be applied to the morality of the New Testament.

In opposition to simply borrowed passages are understood quotations in the proper sense of the word, either in proof of a particular point of doctrine, or the completion of a prophecy. In this case I cannot conceive that the simple, and literal construction of the quoted passages should have conveyed, either in the Greek version or in the Hebrew original, any other meaning, than that which is ascribed to them by the writers of the New Testament. By the Hebrew original I understand not the Masoretic printed text, but the antient genuine text, and I readily admit, that the Seventy and the writers of the New Testament had a more accurate copy, than that, which we possess at present; according to which accurate copy, the quoted passages must have expressed precisely that sense, in which the Apostles and Evangelists have used them. It is true that many, who allow the divinity of the New Testament, have been of a different

ferent opinion in antient as well as modern times: and disputes have arisen, in what light these quotations are to be regarded, in what manner they are to be defended, and even whether they afford not an argument against divine inspiration.

The quotation of passages from the Old Testament in proof of a doctrine, to which in fact they have no relation, was termed by the antient fathers *œconomia*, or *dispensatio*, that is, to speak in plain terms, a logical finesse. The term is used by them in numberless instances, and whoever is acquainted with their writings must have observed, that this very artifice, which they so much recommend, they have frequently admitted into their own writings, by no means to the honour of the cause which they undertook to support<sup>a</sup>. I will mention a single example from the commentary of Jerom on Joel ii<sup>a</sup>. Many were unwilling to admit, that this chapter contained a prophecy of the communication of the Holy Ghost to the Apostles on the day of Pentecost, which is expressly asserted by St. Peter in the second chapter of the Acts, on which subject Jerom writes as follows, *alius vero apostolicæ asserit esse consuetudinis, juxta illud, quod de sancto viro dictum est, 'dispensabit sermones suos in judicio'<sup>b</sup>, ut, quidquid utile esse auditoribus cernebant, et non repugnare præsentibus, de alterius temporis testimoniis roborarent: non quod abuterentur audientium simplicitate et imperitia, ut impius calumniabatur Porphyrius, sed juxta apostolum Paulum prædicarent opportune importune. Now if the Apostles had really recourse to such practices, this 'impious Porphyrius' has spoken like an honest man, a character, which in other respects we have no reason to refuse him, though he believed not the truth of the Christian religion. The use of the word *œconomy*, and the application of the principle itself, has been revived in modern times, especially by Dr. Semler<sup>c</sup>.*

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<sup>a</sup> Tom. III. p. 1359, ed. Benedict.

<sup>b</sup> *Οικονομησει τας λογας αυτου εν τη κρισει*, Psalm cxii. or, according to the Septuagint, Ps. cxi. 5.

In the beginning of the present century another term of apology for similar quotations was introduced, namely Medrash, (מדרש) a word used in the Jewish art of criticism, and applied to cases, in which an hidden, though too often a very unnatural meaning was supposed to lie concealed<sup>4</sup>. The Jews may be indulged in their idle speculations, and the vain glory of discovering seventy sentences in a single period; but that an upright, and impartial lover of the truth, and even persons commissioned by the Deity to preach it to mankind, should have recourse to such miserable artifices, is a matter inconceivable to sound reason, which must ever retain the privilege of deciding on revelation itself. Truth admits of no reprisals, and the false reasoning of an adversary affords no excuse for admitting it ourselves: for, though it is lawful in disputation to turn an opponent's own arguments against him, with a view of convincing him of error, they are inadmissible as a basis of the doctrine, which we intend to support.

Whatever term be adopted to apologize for this mode of reasoning, whether we stile it *Œconomy* with the Fathers, or Medrash with the Jews, I am unable to comprehend, how a set of writings, in which arguments of this nature are admitted, can be thought to proceed from the Deity, and how those, who allow the principle, can reconcile falsehood with divine inspiration. All errors are proofs against the divinity of the book, which contains them; but none are so inexcusable as an author's not understanding his own writings; yet it follows from the admission of the above premises, that the Deity speaking in the New Testament misunderstood the meaning of the Old. The historical mistakes of the Koran, which are used as arguments against its divine authority, would be trifles in comparison with these, or rather no arguments at all, if the author pretends not to inspiration in matters of history.

But I am persuaded, that the admission of this principle is without foundation, and that the examples, which are commonly produced, where the Old Testa-  
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ment is said to be falsely quoted in proof in the New, are not only capable of refutation, but often manifestly erroneous. If the contrary were true, it would be necessary, with all due respect for the Christian religion, to make a distinction between the three following cases.

1. If false quotations of the nature above described could be discovered in a book, whose canonical authority is called in question, they must be regarded as human errors, and the divinity of the book itself be abandoned, without derogating from the dignity of the remaining parts of the New Testament. For instance, Professor Eberhard, in his *Apology of Socrates*, contends that מלכ־יֶצֶדֶק, Psal. cx. 4. signifies not Melchisedeck, but rex justus; now if this were true, we must unavoidably give up the epistle to the Hebrews, in which the most important conclusions are drawn, from a false explanation, which might be done without injuring the rest of the New Testament, as this epistle belongs not to the class of the *ομολογούμενα*. But at present I can see no reason for having recourse to such measures, as the assertion of Eberhard, who is more celebrated for his philosophical penetration, than his knowledge of Hebrew, not only remains to be proved, but militates against the accuracy of grammar, for מלך־יֶצֶדֶק signifies rex justus, whereas the interposition of the Jod colliquescentiæ converts the expression into a proper name<sup>5</sup>. Similar to this case is Acts i. 20. in which is quoted Psalm cix. 8. not by the writer of the Acts of the Apostles, but by St. Peter, at a time when the gifts of the Holy Ghost were not yet communicated, and therefore inspiration could not possibly have taken place. See the Remarks on the hundred and ninth Psalm, p. 243<sup>6</sup>. Against the two first chapters of St. Matthew, which may be separated from the rest of the Gospel, weighty objections of this kind have likewise been made, and have hitherto remained unanswered. See the Introduction to the Gospel of St. Matthew in the second part of this work.

2. If such quotations could be discovered even in those

those books of the New Testament, which belong to the *ομολογούμενα*, the consequence would still follow, that they were not inspired by the Deity, though no inference could be drawn that the Apostles were not preachers of a divine religion, and commissioned for that purpose by Christ himself. See above, ch. iii. sect. 1. Compare likewise John xix. 35—37. with my remarks on the resurrection<sup>7</sup>.

3. Were it possible to shew, that the very author of our religion, who ordered the precepts, which he taught to be regarded as commands of the Deity, had made a wrong application of a text of the Old Testament, it would follow that he was not infallible, and that Christianity itself was false. But I will borrow an example from Eberhard's *Apology*<sup>8</sup>, and examine whether the charge be really founded. He compares Matthew xvii. 10, 11, 12, with Malachi iv. 5. and is of opinion, that the latter passage has no reference to John the Baptist, but only to some patriotic Israelite, who lived before the Babylonish captivity, and attempted to reform the morals of his countrymen; and that the word *חרב* can be applied only to the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. If the matter were really such, as the Professor has represented it, no other resource would remain, than to conclude with Porphyry, that the Christian religion were an imposture. But the whole argument of Eberhard is without foundation, as Malachi lived long after the time of the Babylonish captivity, and his prophecies are therefore inapplicable to events preceding that period<sup>9</sup>.

Between simply borrowed passages, and such as are quoted in proof, there is a third kind which hold a middle rank, and consist of moral sentences chiefly borrowed from the Proverbs of Solomon. This book is frequently quoted by the Apostles, who considered it as a treasure of revealed morality, from which the Christians were to derive their rules of conduct, and the canonical authority of no part of the Old Testament is so ratified by the evidence of quotations, as that of the Proverbs.



verbs. But it is remarkable, that the Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach, which has so striking an affinity with the book of Proverbs, is not quoted in a single instance by the Apostles and Evangelists, and the difference between canonical and apocryphal is no where so strongly marked, as in this example. We may hence infer, that every commentator on the Greek Testament ought to be intimately acquainted with the Septuagint version of the book of Proverbs, and that every Christian divine should consider it as the chief source of scriptural morality.

It is true, that the passages, which the Apostles have quoted from the Proverbs, seem generally applied as commands of the Deity, or as proofs of some moral doctrine; and even when a moral philosopher applies the words of another, whom he believes not to be inspired; he is supposed to ascribe to them an authority bordering on demonstration. But unless it be expressly mentioned, that the quoted passage is actually intended as a proof, the writer, who makes the quotation, is at liberty to use the words of his favourite author, in expressing a moral truth, though the words in the original had a different application. This will be rendered more intelligible by the following example.

Προνοε̃ καλα̃ ενωπιον Κυριε̃ και ανθρωπων, Prov. iii. 4. is a maxim worthy of a place in a collection of divine precepts, and is twice applied by St. Paul with great judgment. The first example is 2 Cor. viii. 21. where he expresses his own unwillingness, and that of his immediate friends, to carry to Jerusalem the contributions of the Macedonians for their brethren in Judea, without being attended by persons deputed from the different communities, who might bear witness to the uprightness of his conduct, *προνοε̃μενοι καλα̃ & μονον ενωπιον Κυριε̃, αλλα και ενωπιον ανθρωπων*, nobis bene prospicere volentes coram Deo, et coram hominibus; it being the duty of every man, and of St. Paul in particular, not only to have a conscience void of offence, but to guard his reputation against the suspicion of the world. The other instance of the appli-  
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cation of these words, is Rom. xii. 17. where St. Paul observes, that 'we ought to recompense evil with good,' *προσκερμενοι καλα ενωπιον παντων ανθρωπων*, iis rebus operam dantes, quæ omnibus hominibus pulchra videntur. This is a morality worthy of a divine Apostle, and the noblest revenge, which can be taken of an enemy. But the question is, whether the words in the original Hebrew convey the same meaning, as is given them by St. Paul: a question, which I should answer in the negative. It is true, that St. Paul has the authority of the Seventy, who have taken the Hebrew words in this sense, and have translated *לכונן*, as if it were an imperative, but in my translation of the Bible, I have adhered rather to the Hebrew original. The decision of this point I leave to the learned, but in whatever manner it be determined, it no way affects the authority of St. Paul, who, in delivering a moral doctrine, was at liberty to clothe it in the words best adapted to his purpose, were they even the result of an error in the Alexandrine translators.

As numerous passages, which are borrowed from the Old Testament, have been overlooked by the critics, so they on the other hand have pretended to discover quotations, where there is no ground for the supposition, and have attempted to reconcile examples, where no reconciliation is required. Thus St. Paul is said to have taken 1 Cor. i. 20. from Isaiah xxxiii. 18. where the whole similarity consists in the three-fold repetition of 'where is?'

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## S E C T. II.

*Of quotations in proof of doctrines, or the completion of prophecies: of the difficulties attending them, and in what manner these difficulties may possibly be removed.*

I HAVE observed in the preceding section, that quotations, in the more immediate and proper sense of the word, must, according to their literal and grammatical construction, convey precisely the same meaning in the

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Old Testament, as is given them in the New; otherwise the New Testament is not divinely inspired. No medium is admissible, unless we at once allow that the Christian revelation is incapable of being tried by rules as severe as those which are universally applied to other writings.

But great diffidence is requisite on our part in our critical explanations of the Old Testament, nor must we immediately conclude, that an Apostle has made a false quotation, because he has applied a passage in the Old Testament in a sense which, according to our judgement, it does not admit. Our own ignorance may be the cause of the seeming impropriety, and having found by actual experience, and a more minute investigation of the subject, that many passages, which other critics as well as myself had taken for false quotations, were yet properly cited by the Apostles, I trust that future critics will be able to solve the doubts in the few examples which remain. The reader will find a remarkable instance in Rom. x. 7. compared with Deuteronomy xxx. 11—14. in my appendix to Lowth's ninth lecture *De sacra Poësi Hebræorum*; many other solutions have occurred to me, but I will mention only one, which relates to the second chapter of St. Matthew, in which I shall be less accused of partiality, as it is known that I entertain great doubts on the authenticity of the two first chapters of this Gospel.

Jeremiah xxxi. 15. is quoted Matth. ii. 17, 18. as a prophecy of the massacre of the children of Bethlehem. But the learned have been of opinion, that the words of Jeremiah have no reference to the time of Herod, but merely to the Babylonish captivity. After having long subscribed to this opinion, I was induced to waver in it by the discovery of the circumstance, that the Jews themselves refer the prophecy to a much later period than the Babylonish captivity, and apply it to the ages of Vespasian and Hadrian. Jerom, in his remarks on Jer. xxxi. writes as follows, *quidam Judæorum hunc locum sic interpretantur, quod capta Hierosolyma sub Vespasiano per hanc*

hanc viam Gazam et Alexandriam infinita millia captivorum Roman directa sunt. Alii vero quod ultima captivitate sub Hadriano, quando et urbs Jerusalem subversa est, innumerabilis populus diversæ ætatis et utriusque sexus in mercato Terebinthi nudinatus sit<sup>4</sup>. Et idcirco execrabile esse Judæis mercatum celeberrimum visere. Now the tomb of Rachel lay close to the road, which Jerom meant by the words hanc viam, which was the common road leading from Jerusalem to Gaza and Alexandria. By mercatus Terebinthi is generally understood the Terebinthus near Hebron, but in that case the Jews could never have admitted this explanation, as Hebron lay at a distance from the tomb of Rachel. Here is undoubtedly meant the Terebinthus Tabor mentioned 1 Sam. x. 2, 3. adjoining to which was the tomb of Rachel, and which is called at present the Terebinth of the Virgin Mary<sup>4</sup>, an epithet borrowed from a christian legend. The first explanation of the prophecy which is mentioned by Jerom, is that which was generally admitted in the time of Josephus, who on this occasion has the following remark, καὶ τὴν νῦν ἐφ' ἡμῶν γενομένην αλώσιν, τὴν τε Βαβυλωνίαν αἰρῶσιν, Antiquit. X. 5. 1. signifying that it related not only to the Babylonish captivity, but likewise to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. The coincidence of the explanation given by Josephus, and by the Jews of the fifth century, with the application of the prophecy in the second chapter of St. Matthew, first induced me to suspect that the opinion, to which I had subscribed, was false. The series of misfortunes, which happened to the Jewish nation from the time of Pompey to that of Hadrian, might be very properly figured by the the tears of Rachel, who is represented as raising her head from the grave, and weeping over the future fate of her unfortunate progeny. The image is highly suitable to the occasion, for many scenes of misery were displayed in the neighbourhood of the place where Rachel was buried, as the cruel government of Herod, the massacre of children in Bethlehem, and the still greater barbarities committed at

<sup>4</sup> See Troilo's Travels<sup>5</sup>, p. 382.

of a prophecy, but, to accommodate the words of the prophet to the present character of the Jews, of which they were perfectly descriptive<sup>d</sup>. In the chronicle of Dionysius is a passage, in which we may observe the manner of expression used by the Syrians on similar occasions. Asclepius, Bishop of Edessa, having been obliged to quit the city in consequence of a dangerous flood, which the populace considered as a punishment inflicted by the Deity for the heterodoxy of their bishop, fled to Antioch, where he was received with open arms by the Patriarch, who conducted him to the episcopal throne and addressed the inhabitants of the city<sup>e</sup>, (ܐܬܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ) 'behold the second Noah, who like him has been delivered in an ark from a second deluge.' This is nothing more than the borrowing an image, in order to represent a fact in stronger colours, or what is called accommodation.

But the question still remains to be answered, whether this convenient principle of accommodation is applicable to those examples in which are used the strong expressions, 'then was fulfilled that which was spoken by the prophet,' or 'this was done that it might be fulfilled, which was spoken by the prophet.' Wetstein in his note to Matth. i. 22. in support of this principle has produced an example from Ephrem Syrus, but no one has treated the subject with so much ability as Sykes in the third section of the Introduction prefixed to his Paraphrase and Notes upon the Epistle to the Hebrews. He appeals to similar expressions in other writers, but the authority of Jerom, whom he quotes among the rest, is here of little weight, for though the learned father was critically accurate in matters of philology, he allows himself all possible latitude in allegorical explanations. The examples which he has taken from Epiphanius<sup>f</sup> and Olympiodorus are indeed more important, but very far from

<sup>d</sup> See the Syriac Chrestomathy<sup>15</sup>, p. 80.

<sup>e</sup> Ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῇ πληροῦται τὰ γεγραμμένοι· παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο ἐν παντί κακῇ ἐν μέσῳ ἐκκλησίας καὶ συνάγωγης. *Hæresis Ebionitarum*, Cap. i.

<sup>f</sup> Ἰνα ἀληθείς περὶ αὐτοῦ γινῆται,

Τὸ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης μεκίτος γλυκίων ρεῖν αὐδῇ.

*Olympiodori Vita Platonis.*

SECT. III. *Quotations from the Old Testament.* 215

from being equal in strength to the expression, 'that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet.' If I caution any one, and say, 'Let not that be fulfilled in thee,' the caution itself implies that the words to which I allude are no prophecy: the Proverbs of Solomon, which are quoted by Epiphanius, contain only sentences of morality, and can have no reference to prophecy: and with respect to the expression of Olympiodorus, it is of a totally different nature. However willing, I am yet unable to persuade myself that Matth. i. 22. ii. 15. 17. were intended by the writer as mere accommodations.<sup>16</sup> Yet, in certain cases, it seems almost necessary to have recourse to this convenient mode of explanation, for instance John xiii. 18. 'that the scripture may be fulfilled, he that eateth bread with me hath lifted up his heel against me;' for this quotation is taken from the forty-first psalm, which can have no reference either to Christ or to Judas. The same principle might be applied to a similar passage, John xvii. 12. if the phrase *ἡ γραφή ὡς ἔπαυται* must necessarily be referred to the words immediately preceding, namely, Son of perdition, and if the quotation itself be borrowed from the 41st. or 109th. Psalm: but in these Psalms no such expression is found, as 'none of them is lost,' and 'son of perdition.' I would therefore refer it to the words 'those which thou gavest me I have kept,' and suppose that Christ made allusion to Zachariah xiii. 7. and Isaiah viii. 18. where this very expression is used.<sup>17</sup>

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S E C T. III.

*The Old Testament is quoted very frequently, but not always, from the Septuagint.*

IT is universally known, that the quotations in the New Testament are commonly taken from the Septuagint, a version in general use among the Christians who understood Greek. The only exception to be made,

as Jerom has in several places observed, is to the Gospel of St. Matthew, because he wrote in Hebrew; and the Greek translator of his Gospel, instead of consulting the Septuagint, translated frequently the Hebrew words as he found them in the original of St. Matthew; yet the quotations in this Gospel correspond in several instances with the Greek version. If we except two doubtful passages, ch. xxvi. 31. xxvii. 9. they are nearly in the following proportion.

The Septuagint is quoted Math. iv. 4. 6. xiii. 15. a remarkable passage, which will be examined in the sequel, as St. John has given his own translation, xv. 7, 8, 9. where the Seventy differ from the Masoretic reading, xxi. 13. 16. 42. xxii. 44<sup>1</sup>, xxvii. 35. In several other examples there is a small deviation from the Septuagint, which relates only to single words, and which perhaps would vanish, if the various readings of the Septuagint and the New Testament were carefully collated with each other, namely, Math. iii. 3. iv. 4. 6, 7. 10, where *μου* is also wanting in the Hebrew, ix. 13. where the difference consists in a single letter<sup>2</sup>, xxiv. 15.

Many passages, on the contrary, are undoubtedly not taken from the Septuagint, or at least, if the Greek translator recollected the words of the Alexandrine version, he has given them with considerable alterations. We may divide them into two different classes, 1. Where the object of the quotation rendered a deviation from the Septuagint necessary. 2. Where the words of the Septuagint would have answered the purpose as well as a new translation. To the first class belong the following examples, Math. ii. 15<sup>3</sup>. viii. 17<sup>1</sup>. xii. 17—21<sup>m</sup>, in which cases every

<sup>1</sup> See my Critical Lectures on the 110th Psalm, p. 480<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> The LXX have *τα τετρα αυτου*, Hosea xi. 1. which is inapplicable to the purpose of the Evangelist.

<sup>3</sup> The LXX have not *αμαρτιας*, Isaiah liii. 4. but *αμαρτιας*.

<sup>m</sup> This whole passage is so corrupted in the Septuagint, by the insertion of the names Jacob and Israel, *Ιακωβ ο παρ μου αντιληψομαι, αυτη. Ισραηλ ο εκλεκτος μου προσεδεξατο αυτον η ψυχη μου*, Isaiah xlii. 1. that it could not, without alteration, have been applied to Christ.



every writer of the New Testament would have been obliged to depart from the version of the Seventy, unless he had chosen to defeat the purpose for which he made the quotation. But the last of these examples, which, with the omission only of two words inserted by the Seventy, might have perfectly answered the end of the Evangelist, is so altered as to have hardly any similarity with the Greek version<sup>a</sup>. To the second class belong the following passages, in which the words of the Septuagint, though fully adequate to the purpose, are neglected, namely, ch. i. 23. iv. 14—16. xi. 10. xiii. 37. xxi. 4.

It appears therefore, that St. Matthew, or his Greek translator, was acquainted with the version of the Seventy, that he has quoted it sometimes accurately, sometimes merely from memory, and at other times given a  
new,

<sup>a</sup> That the reader may be able to see at a single view in what respects the text of the LXX agrees with that of St. Matthew, and in what it differs from it, I will subjoin both, and print in capitals the words in which they agree. The text of St. Matthew, according to Wetstein's edition is, *ιδε Ο ΠΑΙΣ ΜΟΥ ον ηξεισα. Ο αγαπητος ΜΟΥ, εις ου ενδοξησει Η ΨΥΧΗ ΜΟΥ. θησω ΤΟ ΠΝΕΥΜΑ ΜΟΥ ΕΠ' ΑΥΤΟΝ και ΚΡΙΣΙΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΕΘΝΕΣΙΝ απαγγελει. Ουκ εξισει ΟΥΔΕ κραυγασει. ΟΥΔΕ ακησει τις εν ταις πλατειαις την φωνην ΑΥΤΟΥ. ΚΑΛΑΜΟΝ συντριμμενον ΟΥ καταξει. ΚΑΙ ΛΙΝΟΝ τυφομενον ΟΥ ΣΒΕΣΕΙ, εως αυ εκβαλη εις υικος την ΚΡΙΣΙΝ. ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΙ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΘΝΗ ΕΛΠΙΟΥΣΙ.*

The text of the Septuagint, according to the edition of Bos, is *Ιακωβ Ο ΠΑΙΣ ΜΟΥ ανιληψομαι αυτη. Ισραηλ Ο εκλεκτος ΜΟΥ. προσδεξατο αυτοι Η ΨΥΧΗ ΜΟΥ. εδωκα ΤΟ ΠΝΕΥΜΑ ΜΟΥ ΕΠ' ΑΥΤΟΝ, ΚΡΙΣΙΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΕΘΝΕΣΙΝ εξοισι. Ου κικραξεται ΟΥΔΕ ακησει. ΟΥΔΕ ακησθησεται εξω η φωνη ΑΥΤΟΥ. ΚΑΛΑΜΟΝ τεθλασμενον ΟΥ συντριψει ΚΑΙ ΛΙΝΟΝ καπνιζομενον ΟΥ ΣΒΕΣΕΙ. αλλα εις αληθειαν εξοισι ΚΡΙΣΙΝ. ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΙ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΘΝΗ ΕΛΠΙΝΟΥΣΙ.*

Here it is evident, that the words in which they agree, were either unavoidable, or such as must naturally occur to every translator, and that the two translations are wholly independent of each other. But what is an extraordinary circumstance, where *לְתוֹרַתוֹ אִים* stands in our present Hebrew text, both translations have *τη ονοματι αυτου εθνη*, as if the copy of the Hebrew Bible used by the Seventy, as well as that, from which St. Matthew took his quotation, had *וְשֵׁמוֹ גִּוִּים*.

new, and even more harsh translation of the Hebrew than that which the Seventy have given. Though the same remark may be applied to the other writers of the New Testament, I confine it at present to the Gospel of St. Matthew, which must be separately considered, because it contains, without any obvious reason, several very remarkable deviations from the Septuagint, and because the ancient Christian writers distinguished this Gospel from the rest as it was written originally in Hebrew, and it could not be reasonably expected that the Greek translator should consult the Alexandrine version on every quotation.

With respect to the other writers of the New Testament, it is certain that they have quoted in most instances from the Septuagint, even where the translation from the Hebrew is inaccurate, but where the errors are of such a nature as not to weaken the proofs, for which they are alledged. This has been used as an argument against divine inspiration, but the argument is without foundation, for the proof depends not on all the words of the quotation, but simply on those few which are immediately applicable to the subject: the rest are introduced merely on account of the connexion, and that the reader may more easily refer to the passages in the Old Testament, from which they are taken. We must recollect that the Apostles wrote for the use of communities, who were ignorant of Hebrew, and for whom therefore it was necessary to refer to the Greek version, which was generally read<sup>4</sup>. Had they given a new and more accurate translation according to the Hebrew, the reader would not have known what passage they intended to quote; and had they, on the other hand, in retaining the words of the Septuagint, taken notice of each inaccuracy, it would have been an useless ostentation of learning, and they would have diverted the attention of the reader from the main object to the consideration of trifles. We censure the clergy in the present age, when they endeavour in the pulpit to make unnecessary corrections of our common translation of the Bible, but it is more excusable in them, than it would

would have been in the Apostles, as it is the office of the former to explain the sacred writings, whereas the object of the Apostles and Evangelists was not to expound the Old Testament, but to apply it in confirmation of the New. Another reason is the mode of quotation itself, which neither was nor could be made according to chapter and verse; and the words themselves being the only direction for finding the passage, from which they were taken, a deviation from the common reading would have left the reader in total ignorance. In the moral sentences of the New Testament I have observed examples, where the Proverbs of Solomon, though not verbally quoted, are at least applied according to the meaning in the Septuagint, even where that meaning is different from the sense conveyed by the Hebrew original, as, for instance, 1 Pet. iv. 18. compared with Prov. xi. 31. The moral doctrine, which is here expressed in the Septuagint, is not the same as that which is expressed in the Hebrew, but though different they are equally true, and the object of Peter was not to prove a dogmatical position, but to deliver a moral doctrine.

When the Seventy have followed a different reading from that, which we find in our printed copies of the Hebrew Bible, they have been frequently imitated by the writers of the New Testament\*, but we cannot therefore immediately conclude that such a reading is the true one, or that the Apostles, in using the words of the Septuagint, intended to confirm their authenticity. The case however is different, when the proof intended to be given by the quotation consists in the deviation from the Masoretic text, for then the person who made the quotation must have either believed the reading in the Septuagint to have been more accurate than that in the usual copies of the Hebrew, or he has used not a solid but a specious argument.

Acts xv. 17. is designed as a proof that God would chuse a nation from among the heathens, that should be called

\* For instance, Matth. xv. 8, 9. Rom. xi. 35. (compared with Isaiah xl. 14<sup>s</sup>.) and Rom. xv. 10.

called after his name, but the proof is of no validity, if we read Amos ix. 12. whence the quotation is taken, according to the Masoretic text, namely, 'that they (the Jews) may force<sup>6</sup> (יִירָשׁוּ) the remnant of Edom, (אֲדוֹם) and all nations which are called by my name,' whence it might be rather concluded, that the heathens would be obliged to turn Jews, and submit to the ceremony of circumcision, which was really the case with the Edomites, after their land was conquered by John Hyrcanus. But the whole matter is clear, if we follow the reading used by St. Luke and the Septuagint, 'that the residue of men (אֲדָם) might seek (יִדְרָשׁוּ) the Lord<sup>7</sup>, and all the nations which are called after my name,' or if we consider the Masoretic and Greek readings as two fragments<sup>8</sup> from which the antient genuine text may possibly be restored in the following manner יִדְרָשׁוּ אֶת אֲדָם שְׂאֲרֵית אֲדָם that they, (the Jews) with the residue of men, may seek the Lord, 'and with all the nations that call on my name.' St. James, who made the quotation in the Hebrew dialect, must have made it in this manner, for the words as they stand in our printed Bibles have no connexion with the design of the Apostle. St. Paul, in his epistle to the Romans, ch. xi. 26. quotes Isaiah lix. 20. as a prophecy of the general conversion of the Jews. Now the words of the prophet, as they stand in our editions of the Bible, are as follows, 'and the Redeemer shall come to Zion, וְלֹשֶׁבִי פֶשַׁע בִּיעֶקֶב, and unto them which turn from transgression in Jacob.' Here every reader must observe, that the prophecy itself implies the contrary of a general conversion, for it is expressly said, that a Redeemer shall come for those only which turn from transgression in Jacob, and it refers to a period similar to that, in which we live at present, as many thousands have been converted to Christianity, but the greatest part still remain in error. Yet it was manifestly the intention of St. Paul to apply the passage not to a partial, but to a general conversion of the Jews, the former being at that time no longer a subject of prophecy, but a matter actually fulfilled. The whole difficulty

culty may be removed by the addition<sup>p</sup> of a single letter to the word **וְלִשְׁבִי**, for which if we read **וְלִשְׁבִית**, the reading which was probably in the copy of the Hebrew Bible that was used by the Seventy and by St. Paul, the passage in Isaiah will have the following sense, 'for Zion shall come a Redeemer, and one that shall put an end to the transgression in Jacob<sup>q</sup>,' and this explanation corresponds exactly with the next verse, 'this is my covenant with them, saith the Lord; my Spirit that is upon thee, and my words which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, saith the Lord, from henceforth and for ever: i. e. thou and thy latest posterity shall never cease to confess the true religion, which I have revealed to thee. Another example, where the reading followed by the New Testament is a proof that the passage in our present Hebrew text is corrupted, may be found in my Critical Lectures on the 16th Psalm, among the observations on the 10th verse; and since the publication of these Lectures, the observation has been confirmed by the discovery of so great a number of authorities at that time unknown, that no doubt can be made that the common printed reading **חֲסִידֶיךָ** is absolutely false<sup>r</sup>. To this may be added, Deut. xxxii. 43. provided it be the text to which St. Paul refers in his epistle to the Hebrews, ch. i. 6. See the 14th Remark on the Epistle to the Hebrews.

The New Testament therefore affords sufficient evidence that our Masoretic text is in many places corrupted, and supplies in many cases the means of correcting it. But we must not therefore conclude that corrections of this kind are at all times allowable. Though Stephen, in the speech recorded in the seventh chapter of the Acts, has twice departed from the Hebrew text, preferring v. 14. the Greek reading<sup>s</sup>, and v. 4. the Samaritan<sup>t</sup>, a  
verse

<sup>p</sup> On the omission of a letter, if we read **וְלִשְׁבִי** transitive, in which case the Hebrew text would be translated, 'and to turn away the transgression of Jacob.' This alteration seems preferable to the other, because **וְלִשְׁבִי** is generally rendered in the Septuagint by *ἀποστρέφω*.

verse which in other respects is exceptionable<sup>9</sup>; no inference can be made to the disparagement of the Hebrew, for though Stephen was a martyr, he was not inspired, and St. Luke, who has recorded the speech, has delivered it not as a commentator, but as a faithful historian.

Where the writers of the New Testament have borrowed from the Septuagint, they have not bound themselves with literal accuracy to the words of the original, but have used a liberty, which must be excused in those, who instead of immediately transcribing, have frequently quoted from memory. Compare Rom. xi. 9, 10. with Psalm lxix. 22, 23. Jerom has the following remark on Ephes. v. 31<sup>10</sup>. quod frequenter annotavimus, apostolos et evangelistas non eisdem verbis usos esse testamenti veteris exemplis, quibus in propriis voluminibus continentur, hoc et hic probamus: siquidem testimonium istud ita in Genesi scriptum est: "propter hoc relinquet homo patrem suum et matrem suam, et adhærebit uxori suæ, et erunt duo in carne una." Nunc autem apostolus pro eo quod ibi habetur *οὗτος ταῦτα*, posuit *αὐτὸς ταῦτα* deinde pro 'patre suo' et 'matre sua' pronomina abstulit et 'patrem' tantum posuit et 'matrem,' et quod in medio dicitur, 'et adhærebit uxori suæ' hic penitus prætermisit; et tantum quod sequebatur hoc dictum superioribus copulavit, et posuit et erunt duo in carne una. The passage to which Jerom here alludes, Gen. ii. 24. is quoted three times in the New Testament, Matth. xix. 5. Mark x. 6. Ephes. v. 31. In all three examples the words *οὗτοι* are used, which are found in the Septuagint, and not in the Hebrew, but as the text stood in the time of the Apostles, they were probably there likewise. Yet these quotations correspond not accurately with each other, as will appear from the following comparison.

The Septuagint, according to the edition by Bos<sup>11</sup>, has *ἐνεν ταῦτα καταλείψει ἁνδρὶς*, which are the words used

<sup>9</sup> See the Sententia de Chronologia Mosis, post diluvium, § 15. p. 190, 191. of my Commentationes Societati Scientiarum Goettingensi præsentatas, 1765—1768 prælectarum.

<sup>11</sup> See the Orient. Bibl. Vol. IX. p. 175—177 14.

used by St. Matthew and St. Mark, but St. Paul has *αυτι ταυτα*, who took the liberty of making use of the words which first occurred to him.

The Septuagint has *τον πατερα αυτου και την μητερα*, which are the words of St. Mark, and, according to the common reading, those of St. Paul, but St. Matthew has *τον πατερα και την μητερα* without the pronoun, a reading found likewise in that copy of St. Paul's epistles which was in the possession of Jerom<sup>16</sup>. But this is not freedom of quotation, or quotation from memory; but actually a various reading in the Septuagint, as appears from Philo's having quoted this passage without *αυτου*, Lib. II. p. 73. of the edition by Mangey<sup>17</sup>.

The Septuagint has *και προσκολληθησεται προς την γυναικα αυτην*, which are the words of St. Mark, but St. Matthew has *τη γυναικι αυτην*, which again is a various reading of the Septuagint, as appears not only from the Codex Alexandrinus, and the edition by Aldus, but likewise from a quotation of Philo, Vol. I. p. 75<sup>18</sup>. According to Jerom<sup>19</sup> these words were entirely omitted by St. Paul, but in our common editions of the New Testament, they are used in the same manner, as in the Septuagint and in St. Matthew<sup>20</sup>.

*Και εσονται οι δυο εις σαρκα μια.* In these words they all agree.

From the foregoing comparison, which may appear trivial in itself, we may deduce this inference, that the deviations of the New Testament from the Septuagint in the quoted passages have arisen from different causes, not only from the Apostles having quoted from memory, but even from various readings in the copies of the Greek Bible, which they respectively used.

I have observed, in the Acts of the Apostles, that St. Luke has departed from the words of the Septuagint, in the relation of public speeches, more frequently than upon other occasions, of which Acts ii. 17. 19. iii. 23, 24, 25. vii. 6, 7. 34. 37. are examples. Whether this was done by design, and is to be considered as a mark of judgement in the historian, in not literally transcribing



ing passages which the speaker could have quoted only from memory, is a subject that will be examined more fully in the second volume.

In other places the deviation from the Septuagint is still greater, and has sometimes the appearance of an intentional amendment, which is probably the case with those passages of St. Matthew's Gospel which have been mentioned above.

The Seventy have totally misrepresented Isaiah viii. 14, 15. which they have probably done with design, in order to avoid, what the Hebrew words seem to convey, the opinion that the Deity is the author of evil<sup>\*</sup>; this passage is never quoted in the New Testament according to the Septuagint, but constantly according to the Hebrew, viz. Luke ii. 34. 1 Pet. ii. 7, &c. St. Luke in his Gospel, ch. iv. 18. seems to have quoted the Septuagint with inserted amendments<sup>22</sup>; whether these proceeded from the Evangelist, were introduced by Christ himself, or were taken from a marginal note in a Greek Bible, is a question which I will not pretend to determine. John xix. 37, *οψοιται εις ον εξικεντησαν*, are not only different words, but convey a different sense from the passage in the Septuagint. Zechar. xii. 10. *αναβλεψονται προς με ανθ' ων καταρχησαντο*<sup>23</sup>, Deut. xxx. 13, is translated by St. Paul, Rom. x. 7. in a manner totally different from the translation of the Seventy, a paraphrastical expression being better suited to the nature of his subject. In the writings of Moses 'to cross the sea' signifies to go to the islands of the happy, or the region of departed spirits; but, as this phrase was not intelligible without a commentary, St. Paul substituted the more usual figure for expressing the place of the dead, *τις καταβησεται εις την αβυσσον*<sup>24</sup>. The Septuagint translation of Exod. ix. 16. *ενεκεν τωτο διετηρηθης* is changed perhaps designedly into *εις αυτο τωτο εξηγηρα σε*, Rom. ix. 17. The Seventy have taken *ךתתמךה* in the same sense which I have given it in my German translation, viz. 'I have permitted thee to remain:' St. Paul has given another explanation, of which

<sup>\*</sup> See the Orient. Bibl. Vol. XIV. p. 129—132<sup>21</sup>.

which the Hebrew word is equally capable, 'I have permitted thee to be born,' for, which, he uses, the strong expression ἐξηγείρα σι. Some of the commentators explain this expression by 'I have preserved thee;' but if St. Paul had intended to convey this meaning, he would have abided by the words of the Seventy, and, if I rightly comprehend the design of the Apostle, he puts these words into the mouth of his adversary<sup>25</sup>, who gives them the strongest and most invidious interpretation of which they would be capable, if they were separated from the general connexion. Isa. xxix. 10. is quoted Rom. xi. 8. with an alteration, of which the reason is obvious: the Seventy, instead of יְדִי עֲשֹׂדִית, read probably יְדִי עֲשֹׂדִית with Jerom, who has here miscuit, and supposing that the original conveyed the notion of a composing draught, translated πεποτικεν υμᾶς Κύριος πνευματι κατανυξίως. But as the phrase 'to give to drink the spirit of deep sleep' is somewhat harsh, St. Paul has expressed it in more general terms, ἔδωκεν αυτοῖς ὁ Θεὸς πνεῦμα κατανυξίως, retaining only κατανυξίω, a word peculiar to the Seventy. Deut. xxxii. 35. is quoted Rom. xii. 19. but with an entirely new translation: the Seventy have ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐκδίκησιως ανταποδωσω, St. Paul ἕως ἐκδίκησις, ἐγὼ ανταποδωσω, in which he agrees neither with the reading of the Septuagint, nor of the Masoretic text. In this text we find לִי נָקָם וְשָׁלוֹם, the Seventy read לִי נָקָם וְשָׁלוֹם, St. Paul rejects לִי, which is peculiar to the Seventy, but retains the future וְשָׁלוֹם, which is expressed likewise by the Chaldee and Syriac translators, as well as in the Vulgate. His text therefore was לִי נָקָם וְשָׁלוֹם. St. Paul, 1 Cor. ii. 9. has τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτὸν, the Seventy, Isaiah lxiv. 4. τοῖς ὑπαμεινῶσιν εἰδῶν, perhaps the Apostle read לִי מִחְבֵּי from בְּחִבֵּי amavit<sup>26</sup>. The Seventy, Isaiah xxviii. 11. have διαφανήσονται χεῖλεσιν, δια γλωσσῆς στερας, οτι λαλήσεται τῷ λαῷ τετῶ. St. Paul, 1. Cor. xiv. 21. ἐν ἑτερογλωσσοῖς, καὶ ἐν χεῖλεσιν ἑτέροις λαλήσω τῷ λαῷ τετῶ, where ἑτερογλωσσοῖς seems more accurately to express the Hebrew שְׂפָתַי עֲגִיל<sup>27</sup>. The Seventy have falsely translated Lev. xxvi. 11. מִשְׁכַּנִּי וְנִתְּנָה בְּכֹכְבִּים, by καὶ θήσω τὴν διαθήκην<sup>28</sup> μετ' ἐν ὑμῖν, but

St. Paul has rendered it accurately *νοικησεν εν υμιν*, 2 Cor. vi. 16. The martyr Stephen, who read the Septuagint as a Hellenist, and as a man of learning, has in several parts of his speech, recorded in the seventh chapter of the Acts, directly contradicted the Seventy, and particularly in an instance, which has so little influence on his principal object, that he seems to have had no other end in view, than merely to correct their mistake. The hundred Kesita with which Jacob purchased a field, are explained by the Seventy of an hundred sheep, but Stephen has used the word *τιμης αργυριου*, which he has done with propriety, as Kesita is the name of a weight<sup>29</sup>. Indeed throughout the whole of his speech he has acted like a man who makes a profession of literature, and is critically accurate in the choice of expressions, even where they are indifferent as to the purport for which he spake.

Still more extraordinary is the matter in which Isaiah x. 6. is quoted in the New Testament. In the Hebrew the verbs used in the beginning of this verse are all in the imperative mood, unless we do violence to the Hebrew, in order to make it correspond with the Greek<sup>30</sup>: God commands the prophet to make the hearts of the people stubborn, their ears heavy, and to shut their eyes, that is, he declares to him beforehand that his preaching will produce no other effect than to render the nation more obstinate than before, and that all his exhortations will be of no avail. But the Seventy, whose particular care was to file away every tittle, from which it might be concluded that God was the author of evil, because the God of the Jews was considered in Egypt as a Demiurgus, not as a Being of infinite benevolence, on account of the evil which is visible in the world<sup>†</sup>, have weakened the force of the original, and substituted for the imperative the indicative mood, *επαχυνθη γαρ η καρδια τε λαου τε, και τοις ωσιν αυτων βαρειως ηκεσαν, και τες οφθαλμους αυτων εκκαμμυσαν, μηποτε ιδωσιν τοις οφθαλμοις, και τοις ωσιν ακουσωσι*  
και

<sup>†</sup> See the *Dissertatio de Indiciis Gnostice Philosophiæ tempore LXX. interpretum et Philonis Judæi*, printed in the second volume of the *Syntagma Commentationum*.

και τη καρδια συνιωσι, και επιγραφωσι, και ιασωμαι αυτες. This passage of Isaiah is quoted five times in the New Testament, namely, Matt. xiii. 15. Mark iv. 12. Luke viii. 10. Acts xxviii. 27. John xii. 40. Of these five quotations we may omit at present that in St. Luke's Gospel, because the passage is there abridged. St. Matthew, who is generally supposed not to have followed the Septuagint, and St. Luke in the Acts of the Apostles, agree so exactly with the Seventy, that no doubt can be made of their having transcribed from the Greek Bible. St. John has given a new translation of the words of Isaiah, which he has so paraphrased as to express a different meaning, agreeable to an Oriental figure of speech, by which all actions performed by permission of Providence are ascribed to the immediate operation of the Deity τετυφλωκει αυτων τας οφθαλμους, και πεπωρωκει αυτων την καρδιαν, ανα μη ιδωσι τοις οφθαλμοις, και νοησωσι τη καρδια, και επιγραφωσι, και ιασωμαι αυτες. St. Mark has omitted the words which express by whom the hearts were hardened, and it appears that he has given his own translation, as he has paraphrased the words 'that they be healed' by the expression 'that their sins be forgiven,' ινα βλεποντες βλεπωσι και μη ιδωσι, και ακουοντες ακουωσι, και μη συνιωσι, και αφιθη αυτοις τα αμαρτηματα. The latter part of this sentence, whether it be called paraphrase or translation (for נָדַר may be translated to forgive, if we suppose it to express the same meaning as נָדַר cum tertia radicali He), is taken from the Chaldee Targum, where we find וְיִשְׁתַּבַּח לַיהוָה 'and it will be forgiven them.' St. Mark therefore quoted according to the version, with which, from his residence in Jerusalem, he was best acquainted.

The following are examples of free quotations, where the same subject is expressed but in different words, 2 Cor. vi. 17, 18. compared with Isaiah lii. 11, 12. and Jeremiah xxxi. 9. (in the Greek xxxviii. 9.); and 1 Cor. ii. 9. compared with Isaiah lxiv. 3. on which passage Jerom's Commentary on Isaiah may be consulted, Vol. III. p. 473<sup>1</sup>. who observes non verbum ex verbo reddens, quod facere omnino contemnit, sed sensum exprimens veritatem.

## S E C T IV.

*Two hypotheses by Schulz and Ernesti, with a third by the author, relative to the quotations from the Septuagint.*

**T**HIS subject is of sufficient importance to deserve a more accurate investigation than has hitherto been made, as the generality of critics, instead of examining the matter in its full extent, have taken for granted, that the writers of the New Testament have borrowed their quotations from the Septuagint, without ever examining the Septuagint itself.

Professor Schulz, in a letter which he communicated to me some months ago, and which he has permitted me to lay before the public, has stated the question in the following manner: 'It is evident that the writers of the New Testament have sometimes quoted the Old Testament according to the Septuagint version, at other times given their own translation. In some cases, where they have given their own translation, a reason is observable, why they have deviated from the Septuagint, namely, because the point which they intended to demonstrate is more clearly evinced in their own words than in those of the Seventy'. But in other cases the force of the argument is as well expressed by the words of the Seventy as by those of the Apostles. Now in such examples I can assign no other reason, that could induce the Apostles to give their own translation, than that the Greek version was at that time not complete, and that those books of the Old Testament, from which such quotations are taken, were translated into Greek after the time of the Apostles. Hence we may deduce the following rule, If the writers of the New Testament have used in a quotation the words of the Seventy, the book from which they quoted was already in the Septuagint version. If they quote a passage according to their own translation, we must

<sup>u</sup> It appears from the foregoing section that other motives may be assigned, why the Apostles have deviated from the text of the Septuagint.

must first inquire, whether they have quoted from the same book in other instances according to the Septuagint. If such instances are to be found, we must conclude that the Apostles had sufficient reason for departing from the words of the Septuagint, namely, to place their proof in a stronger light; but if such instances are not to be found, it is manifest that the want of a Greek version was the cause which obliged them to translate for themselves. One or two examples would not be sufficient to make the matter clearer than I have already stated it, and it would be necessary, in order to give a perfect demonstration, to arrange the several quotations in the two following columns.

Citata V. T. in N. T.

Ex versione τῶν ὁ Ex propria scriptorum N. T. versione.'

To this opinion I would readily subscribe, if the following clause were added, which the Professor, though he has not expressed it, probably meant to imply, namely, that not a single passage alone is sufficient, but that several passages quoted differently from the Septuagint are requisite to warrant a conclusion against the existence of the Greek version of a book of the Old Testament in the time of the Apostles; since it might easily happen in one or two instances that, remembering imperfectly the words of the Septuagint, they wrote them down from memory, without referring to the Septuagint itself. But this subscription would be only conditional, as I recollect no book of the Old Testament, to which the clause is applicable. The only doubts which I have entertained, though during only a very short time, related to the prophet Zechariah, who is said to be quoted six times in the New Testament, in all which examples the words of the Evangelists differ from those of the Greek version, viz. Matth. xxi. 4, 5. xxvi. 31. xxvii. 9, 10. Mark xiv. 27. John xii. 15. xix. 37. Now the three first examples belong not properly to the present consideration, because St. Matthew wrote originally in Hebrew; and besides, the third example, which will be examined in the following section,

section, is said by the Evangelist himself to have been taken from Jeremiah. John xix. 37. is one of the exceptions which Professor Schulz himself has admitted, as the words of the Seventy which are inaccurate, would not have suited the purpose for which the apostle quoted. There remain therefore only two of the six examples, of which again Mark xiv. 27. compared with Zechar. xiii. 7. is, on account of the very great number of its various readings, too uncertain to warrant any positive conclusion. St. Mark, according to the common editions, has *παταξω τον ποιμενα και διασκορπισθησεται τα προβατα*, the Seventy according to the Codex Alexandrinus, *παταξον τον ποιμενα, και διασκορπισθησεται τα προβατα της ποιμνης*, but these two last words of the Seventy *της ποιμνης*, which are not in the common editions, were found by Wetstein in twelve manuscripts of St Mark's Gospel<sup>1</sup>; the only difference therefore is between *παταξω* and *παταξον*, two readings which are so alike, that transcribers might have easily mistaken them, and it is not impossible that the copy which was used by St. Mark had *παταξω* instead of *παταξον*, which we are not justified in denying, though no manuscripts of the Septuagint hitherto collated<sup>2</sup> has this reading<sup>3</sup>; for the number of manuscripts, which have been used in publishing the editions of this Greek version is very inconsiderable<sup>4</sup>. It is true that the Roman edition has *παταξατε της ποιμνας και εκσπασατε τα προβατα*, but admitting this to be the true reading, which is yet a matter of doubt, where the readings are so various, this turn of expression would not have suited the purpose of St. Mark, who intended to apply the passage to a single shepherd, namely Christ, whereas the words of the Roman edition relate to several. There remains then only one example to be considered, which is taken from Zechariah ix. 9. and which I will transcribe as it stands in the Septuagint, in the Gospel of St. Matthew, and that of St. John, omitting those words of

<sup>1</sup> The Arabic version of Zechariah, which was made from the Greek, has *اضرب* which may signify either *παταξω* or *παταξον*, according to the mode of pointing it.



of the Septuagint, which the Evangelists have neglected, as unnecessary to their purpose, and writing in capitals the words in which they agree. The Seventy have *χαίρει σφοδρα, θυγατερ Σιών, κηρύσσει θυγατερ Ιερουσαλημ. Ιδοὺ βασιλευς ἐρχεται σοι . . . . . πρᾶυς καὶ ἐπιβεβηκώς ἐπὶ υἱοῦ ζυγίου καὶ πώλον νεον.* St. Matthew has *εἰπάτε τῇ θυγατρὶ ΣΙΩΝ. ΙΔΟΥ Ο ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΟΥ ΕΡΧΕΤΑΙ ΣΟΙ, ΠΡΑΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙΒΕΒΗΚΩΣ ΕΠΙ υἱοῦ ΚΑΙ ΠΩΛΟΝ υἱοῦ ΤΠΟΖΥΓΙΟΥ.* St. John *μη φοβῆθ' ὀγατερ ΣΙΩΝ. ΙΔΟΥ Ο ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΟΥ ΕΡΧΕΤΑΙ καθήμενος ΕΠΙ ΠΩΛΟΝ οὐκ.* Both Evangelists, especially the latter, who has abbreviated the passage, differ from the Septuagint, yet in such a manner, that the words of the Septuagint seem to form the basis of both quotations. With respect to Mark xiv. 27. Matth. xxi. 5. John xii. 27. they seem to afford a proof that the Septuagint version of Zechariah existed in the time of the Apostles, rather than the contrary; and the rule which is given by Professor Schulz is hardly applicable to this book of the Greek version, though it cannot be denied that the quotations in the New Testament, from the prophet Zechariah, differ more from the words of the Seventy than those made from other parts of the Old Testament. If the above-mentioned tables<sup>4</sup> were carefully executed, we might be able to decide with greater certainty.

Ernesti, in his *Exercitationes Flavianæ*, § 9. has advanced a very different opinion, and contended that the Apostles have never quoted from the Septuagint: but as the examples in which their words agree with those of the Seventy are too manifest to be denied, he supposes that such passages in the Septuagint have been purposely corrected, according to the New Testament, by the Christian transcribers\*. The different translations made from

\* His words are, *Sunt loca in N. T. e Vetere commemorata, quæ iisdem verbis sunt in Græcis V. T. exemplis. Ergo Spiritus S. ista sumfit e versione illa Græca. Bellissima conclusio! Enimvero, si quis summæ locorum omnium detrahat primum ea, quæ sunt diversa, et vel prefius ad Hebraicum exemplum expressa, quod maxime fit in libris eorum, qui inter Græcos non sunt versati, ut Johannis, vel ab utrisque exem-*

from the same original, without any reference to each other, should yet agree in their very words, and that in numerous examples, is hardly credible; and Ernesti has supported his suspicion relative to these alterations with not a single fact. That the Apostles were intimately acquainted with the Greek Bible, is manifest from their very style; no reason therefore can be assigned for denying that those translations from the Hebrew, which correspond word for word with the version of the Seventy, were immediately taken from that version, the propriety of which has been shewn in the preceding section. And it reflects no dishonour on the Apostles, that they had recourse to a translation instead of the original, since the translation alone was understood by the generality of their readers, and every preacher of the Gospel must quote the Bible according to the language of the country, in which he lives. Besides, the quotations used in the New Testament, are sometimes inaccurate translations of the Hebrew, in which cases it is surely better to suppose that they were taken from an established version, than made by the Apostles themselves.

It is true that certain passages may be produced, where the Septuagint has been altered from the New Testament; as well as the New Testament from the Septuagint. An instance of this sort is Psalm lxviii. 19. where *avēns*, which corresponds to the Hebrew, was changed into the third person *avēn*, so early as the time of Justin Martyr<sup>3</sup>, the correction being probably grounded on Ephes. iv. 9. A still more remarkable instance is the long interpolation in the Codex Vaticanus, Psalm xiii. 3. (in the Hebrew xiv. 3.) taken from Rom. iii. 13—18. which has crept from the Septuagint into the Æthiopic and Maronitic Syriac<sup>6</sup> versions, and consequently must have

plis Hebraicis Græcisque diversa, deinde quæ plane ad verbum Hebraica exprimunt, in quibus vertendis quisque sua sponte consentiat cum versione Alexandrina etiam nunquam lecta aut inspecta, parvæ reliquæ fuerint: et his ipsis restat dubitare annon exempla τῶν ὁ subinde ad N. T. lectionem conformata a librariis Christianis inter describendum fuerint, quod nullo modo abhorret.

have been found in various manuscripts of the Greek translation. But the numerous alterations which Ernesti pretends, I have not been able to discover, nor do the examples alleged afford the least presumption in favour of that opinion<sup>7</sup>. Matth. ii. 18. differs considerably from Jeremiah xxxi. (xxxviii.) 15. ; even among the various readings of this passage, little similarity is to be found to the words of St. Matthew ; and as the same may be said of other examples, we have no reason to conclude that the Christian transcribers of the Septuagint were accustomed to correct it according to the New Testament<sup>8</sup>.

On the contrary, there is a passage in which it is more reasonable to suspect that the New Testament has been altered from the Septuagint. St. Paul, in the fifteenth chapter of his epistle to the Romans, recommends both to the Jewish and Gentile converts, instead of dividing themselves into separate communities, to unite in the common service of the Christian church. To this purpose he quotes several examples from the Old Testament, and lastly in the 12th verse he quotes Isaiah xi. 10. in confirmation of his advice. It is true that the words of the Hebrew are admirably adapted to the design of the Apostle, ‘ In that day there shall be a root of Jesse, which shall stand for an ensign of the people ; to it shall the Gentiles seek<sup>9</sup>.’ But St. Paul has quoted from the Septuagint, which was more intelligible to the Christian converts in Rome than the figurative expressions of the Hebrew original. Now it must be remarked, that the Seventy, in translating this passage, had probably a copy of the Hebrew Bible, in which two readings of this passage of Isaiah were different from our Masoretic text, 1. לְנִשְׂיָא, instead of לְנִם, or the Seventy have committed an error in translating לְנִם by ἀρχεῖν<sup>10</sup>. 2. Instead of שָׂרַר, their copy must have had a verb that signifies ‘ to hope,’ or they have again made a mistake in taking שָׂרַר in the sense of ἐλπίζω<sup>11</sup>. If the hypothesis of Ernesti be true, that the Septuagint has been altered from the New Testament, this translation must have

have been made by St. Paul himself, who either had a copy of the Hebrew Bible with the two various readings mentioned above, or he has committed two mistakes in the translation<sup>12</sup>. But beside these two deviations from the Hebrew, there is a third, which defeats the very purpose for which St. Paul made the quotation, namely, **עַמּוּ** is translated **ἔθνων**, whereas it ought to have been translated **λαων**, i. e. the people of Israel<sup>13</sup>, the word used in the two preceding verses. From the following words, **ἔσται ἡ ρίζα τῆς Ἰσσάι, καὶ ὁ ἀνισταμένος ἀρχεῖν λαων, ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔθνη ἐλπίζουσιν**, an inference may be deduced, that Jews and Gentiles shall unite in the service of Christ, but as the words stand at present in St. Paul's epistle, **ἔσται ἡ ρίζα τῆς Ἰσσάι, καὶ ὁ ἀνισταμένος ἀρχεῖν ἔθνων, ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔθνη ἐλπίζουσιν**, no such inference can be deduced, as they relate to the Gentiles alone. Here then we may naturally suspect, that after **ἀρχεῖν** St. Paul had originally **λαων**, and that it has been altered by the transcribers to **ἔθνων**, on the authority of the Septuagint. I will not contend that this suspicion is really grounded, but the contrary supposition, that the Septuagint has in this case been altered according to the New Testament, is almost incredible, as it implies that St. Paul has made a translation, which is not only inaccurate, but subversive of the design for which he quoted the prophet. Whether the preceding example be thought admissible or not, it is certain that many readings of the New Testament are nothing more than alterations from the Septuagint, of which the Codex Laud. 3. Acts vii. 3. affords an evident proof. In this manuscript the words **ἐκ τῆς οἰκῆς τῆς πατρὸς σου**, which Stephen purposely omitted in his speech<sup>14</sup>, and which are to be found in no other copy<sup>15</sup>, have been interpolated from the Septuagint. Another, though less certain example, is Luke xxiii. 46. where **παράτιθεμαι** is probably the true reading, and **παραθήσομαι** borrowed from Psalm xxx. 5.

To

<sup>14</sup> Stephen applies the words of the Septuagint to Abraham's first journey, which was from Ur in Chaldæa, in which journey he was accompanied by his father, and therefore cannot be said to have left his father's house.

To the two preceding hypotheses let it be permitted to add a third. The difference between the quotations in the New Testament and the words of the Seventy, may be explained on the principle of various readings, which, in the copies of the Greek Bible, that were used by the writers of the New Testament, might differ from the manuscripts of the Septuagint, which we have at present. It is likewise possible, that in those cases, where the quotations are materially different, another translation might have been added in the Septuagint as a marginal note, in the same manner as we find in the Hexapla under the name of *ἄλλος*. In the Proverbs of Solomon are instances where the same Hebrew words are twice translated, which can be explained on no other supposition, than that one of them was originally a marginal note, which has insensibly crept into the text itself. But this is a subject on which we have too little information to speak with certainty, and what I have advanced has been rather with a view of exciting others to a more minute investigation. The following is an instance in which the Seventy has given a false translation, Prov. x. 12. *παντας τας μη φιλονικεοντας καλυψει φιλια*, a passage which is twice quoted in the New Testament, and both times with a more accurate translation, James v. 20. *καλυψει πληθος αμαρτιων*, and 1 Pet. iv. 8. *οτι η αγαπη καλυψει πληθος αμαρτιων*. The question may be asked, whether the two apostles found this reading in their Greek Bibles? A supposition of this sort is by no means contradictory to the hypothesis of Ernesti, provided a few examples be not laid as the basis of a general rule. In short, with respect to the quotations from the Old Testament we must wait for a more perfect edition of the Septuagint, collated from the best manuscripts, before we can speak with decision; for in the editions which we have at present, too little attention has been paid to the accuracy of the text, and the manuscripts which have been used are not only inconsiderable in number, but though ancient, precisely those which are the least correct<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> See the Orient. Bibl. <sup>13</sup> Vol. IX. p. 162--171.

## S E C T. V.

*Whether apocryphal passages, that is, such as are not contained in our Hebrew and Greek Bibles, are sometimes quoted in the New Testament.*

**D**ISPUTES had arisen so early as the age of Jerom, whether apocryphal passages were discoverable in the New Testament, upon which subject the learned father in his commentary on the epistle to the Ephesians, immediately after the words quoted from him in the third section of this chapter, has the following remark<sup>1</sup>, *hoc autem totum nunc idcirco observavimus, ut etiam in cæteris locis sicubi testimonia quasi de prophetis et de veteri testamento ab apostolis usurpata sunt, et in nostris codicibus non habentur, nequaquam statim ad apocryphorum ineptias et deliramenta curramus: sed sciamus, scripta quidem ea esse in veteri testamento, sed non ita ab apostolis edita, et sensum magis usurpatum: nec facile nisi a studiosis posse ubi scripta sint inveniri.* He expresses himself in still stronger terms in his note on Isaiah lxiv. 3. a text which St. Paul has quoted, 1 Cor. ii. 9<sup>2</sup>. but the words, which are used by St. Paul, were likewise found in several not only apocryphal, but even despicable writings, from which many writers, and especially Origen\*, had supposed that St. Paul had immediately taken them<sup>3</sup>. On this occasion the zeal of the pious Jerom breaks forth in the following exclamation<sup>4</sup>, *unde apocryphorum deliramenta conticeant, quæ ex occasione*

\* In his Commentary on Matth. xxvii. 9, 10. a text which he says may be sought in the apocryphal writings of Jeremiah, “*sciens, quoniam et apostolus scripturas quasdam secretorum (sc. ἀποκρυφῶν) profert, sicut dicit alicubi, ‘quod oculus non vidit, nec auris audivit,’ in nullo regulari libro positum invenitur, nisi in secretis Eliæ prophetæ.*” He then observes, that some were inclined to reject the second epistle to Timothy, on account of the mention of Jannes and Jambres, of whom no notice is taken by Moses. But as he adds, *primam autem epistolam ad Corinthios propter hoc aliquem refutasse quasi adulterinam ad aures meas nunquam pervenit,* it appears that he considered the quotation from the book of Elias as genuine and lawful.

castione hujus testimonii ingeruntur ecclesiis Christi. De quibus vere dici potest, quod sedeat diabolus in insidiis cum divitibus in apocryphis, ut interficiat innocentem. Et iterum: 'insidiatur in apocrypho, quasi leo in spelunca sua, insidiatur ut rapiat pauperem.' Ascensio enim Isaïæ, et Apocalypsis Eliæ hoc habet testimonium. Et per hanc occasionem, multaque hujuscemodi, Hispaniarum et Lusitanïæ deceptæ sunt mulierculæ, oneratæ peccatis, quæ ducuntur desideriis variis, semper discentes, et nunquam ad scientiam veritatis pervenientes: ut Basilidis, Balsami, atque Thesauri, Barbilonis quoque et Leusiboræ ac reliquorum nominum portenta fusciperent. De quibus diligentissime vir apostolicus scribit Irenæus, episcopus Lugdunensis, et martyr, multarum origines explicans hæresen et maxime Gnosticorum qui per Marcum Ægyptium Galliarum primum circa Rhodanum, deinde Hispaniarum nobiles scæminas deceperunt, miscentes fabulis voluptates, et imperitiæ suæ nomen scientiæ vindicantes. Here it is evident that Jerom, by apocryphal books, understands not those which are annexed in our Bibles to the Old Testament, which, though not equal to the Holy Scriptures, may be read for example of life and instruction of manners, but certain spurious, and even fabulous works, such as 'The taking away of Moses, The Ascension of Isaïah, The Revelation of Elijah, The Prophecies of Enoch.' It were indeed to be lamented if such despicable writings as these had been quoted in the New Testament as holy Scripture, or even in support of a single truth; and candour obliges me to separate from the rest of the New Testament, the epistle of St. Jude, the author of which has taken his accounts, as will be shewn in the second part, from the weakest and most fabulous productions, a circumstance which sufficiently evinces not only its want of inspiration, but even its want of authenticity. No such quotations can be produced from the other books of the New Testament, for Jannes and Jambres, mentioned 2 Tim. iii. 8. though no where named in the writings of Moses, are taken from the well known historical accounts of the Jews.



Jews<sup>5</sup>. On the other hand, I have reason to suspect that some of these spurious apocryphal productions were composed after the period in which the New Testament was written, and that those passages in which a resemblance to the scriptures has been observed, were taken from the writings of the Apostles. A want of materials renders a proof of this assertion impossible, as the greatest part of these miserable compositions have met with the fate which they deserved, having been either totally lost, or at best preserved in very imperfect fragments<sup>6</sup>.

A question very nearly allied to the preceding, and included in it by Jerom, is, whether passages are quoted as proofs in the New Testament, which might have formerly stood in a genuine copy of the Old Testament, but which at present are contained neither in our Hebrew nor Greek Bibles? This question is answered in the affirmative by Whiston, and several other critics, who have contended that the passages which are wanting have been designedly, and with a malicious intention, erased by the Jews. Now it is by no means impossible, that in a collection of writings, of such antiquity and extent as the Old Testament, single words, or even whole lines, should have been omitted in transcribing during the space of 1700 years: but to ascribe it to the malice of the Jews is contrary to all probability<sup>7</sup>. On the other hand, the assertion of Jerom, that the Apostles sometimes quoted in such a manner, *ut non facile nisi a studiosis posset, ubi scripta sint, reperiri*, is equally extraordinary. Did the Apostles write merely for the learned, and if the generality of their readers are unable to discover the places to which they allude, for what purpose did they make the allusions? It is most rational to chuse a medium between these two opinions, to allow that certain passages of the Old Testament have been lost, to which reference is made by the Apostles, and which existed in the time of Christ, but to ascribe the loss to one of those accidents to which all writings whatsoever are exposed.

I will conclude this section with a few observations on

two remarkable quotations. It is said, Matth. ii. 23. 'Jesus dwelt in a city called Nazareth, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophets.' The doubts respecting the two first chapters of this Gospel, whether they were written by St. Matthew, or another person, affect not the present question; for whoever was the author, it is certain that he lived in the first century, and the quotation Ναζαρηαιος κληθησεται he must have believed to have been in the Old Testament, if not in those very terms, at least in words expressive of the same meaning. Many have supposed, that reference is made to a passage which is now lost, or, as Jerom would have called it, apocryphal. But this example may be explained, without recurring to that hypothesis, as a fact foretold by the prophets, but delivered in the words of the Evangelist, or perhaps in the terms that were used by the adversaries of Christ. Several of the prophets had declared 'that the Messiah would be regarded as an impostor, and rejected by the Jews,' and Isaiah, ch. liii. 12. says expressly, that he was numbered with the transgressors. Now the word Nazarene was used in the time of Christ as a term of contempt or reproach, and conveyed the meaning of impostor, or a man of infamous character. It appears from the question of Nathaniel, John i. 46. 'Can there any good thing come out of Nazareth,' that the Nazarenes were held in contempt; and in the passage καὶ συνεμίτα Ἰησοῦς ἡσθα Ναζαρηνι, which is the reading followed by the Syriac translator<sup>a</sup>, Mark xiv. 67. it is certain that Ναζαρηνι was intended as a token of insult. Expressions of contempt, derived from the name of a city or province, are frequent among men of no education, and even the derivation of a name may give occasion to a vulgar quibble<sup>a</sup>. This explanation, which I had formerly given as  
mere

<sup>a</sup> It is uncertain whether Nazareth was written with נ or צ. נֶזֶרֶת or נֶזְרֵת. According to the former orthography, נֶזֶרֶת might have been

used to signify unclean, disgusting, from נָזַר fastidire, ذَبَالٌ stercus, and it is possible that נֶזֶר is used in this sense<sup>a</sup>, Isaiah i. 4. If we write it accord-

mere supposition, has been since confirmed by the accounts of travellers, who relate that there exist at this very day in Galilee, Christians called Nazarenes, but who are styled by the Muhammedans Nazara, a word which they use to denote a man of infamous character<sup>b</sup>. This epithet is so frequently given to Christ by his bitterest enemies, that it is hardly credible they intended to express only the place of his residence, without applying it in the double meaning which the words admit. The prophecies therefore, in which was foretold that Christ should be called an impostor, were fulfilled by the application of a name which is expressive of the same notion<sup>13</sup>. The word may have been even borrowed from a Chaldee paraphrase<sup>14</sup> of Isaiah liii. 12. nor the quotation be deemed apocryphal.

But the other example to which I alluded, Matth. xxvii. 9, 10. will hardly admit a similar explanation, as the book of Jeremiah, from which the quotation is taken, has the passage neither in the Hebrew nor in the Greek. The commentators in order to rescue the Evangelist from the charge of an apocryphal quotation, have contended that he has mentioned the prophet Jeremiah, κατ' ἐξοχην, for the prophets in general, because in some manuscripts Jeremiah is placed the first in the book of the prophets, and that in reality the passage is taken from Zechariah xi. 12, 13. But a single view of the text in Zechariah is sufficient to refute this opinion. The Septuagint version και εσησαν μισθον με τριακοντα αργυρους. Και ειπε Κυριος προς με, καθες αυτας εις το χωνευτηριον, και σκεψομαι ει δοκιμον εστιν ου τροπον εδικιμασθην υπερ αυτων, και ελαβοντες τριακοντα αργυρους και ειεβαλον αυτας εις τον οικον Κυριου εις χωνευτηριον, has only three words, και ελαβον τριακοντα, in common

according to the Syriac orthography, 'ܐܕܢ' may signify ulcerous unclean, for 'ܐܕܢ' in Arabic نَضْر signifies 'to bud,' 'to bloom,' a term applied by the Eastern nations to eruptions of the skin<sup>15</sup>. See Exod. ix. 9, 10. Levit. xiii. 12. 2.Chron. xxvi. 19. and hence in Syriac 'ܐܕܢ' signifies an hemorrhoidal excrescence. Isaiah likewise, ch. xiv. 18. uses 'ܐܕܢ' for a corpse that was so unclean, that no one would carry it to the grave<sup>16</sup>, and the literal Aquila has translated it by ως 'χαρ-

<sup>b</sup> See the Orient. Bibl. Vol. X. p. 47<sup>12</sup>.

common with St. Matthew, and the subject matter itself is totally different, for, according to the Suptuagint, the thirty pieces of silver are cast into the melting pot in order to be proved, whereas, according to St. Matthew, they are applied to the purchase of the potter's field. Nor can the quotation have been taken from the original Hebrew, which relates to a different subject from that treated by St. Matthew; for though mention is made in the Hebrew of a potter, no mention is made of a potter's field. The following comparison of the words of St. Matthew with the words of the Hebrew original, will sufficiently demonstrate that the Evangelist has not taken his quotation from Zechariah.

Και ελαβον τα τριακοντα αργυρια. These are almost the only words of the passage which correspond to the Hebrew, וַאֲקַח שְׁלִשִׁים כֶּסֶף, but the correspondence is rather apparent than real, for the Hebrew word which answers to ελαβον, is in the first person singular, whereas ελαβον, which if alone might be taken in the same person, is determined by εδωκαν to be the third person plural.

Την τιμην τε τιτιμημεν, These words are wanting in the Hebrew, for אֲדָר הִיקָר, which are said to correspond to them, are differently placed in the Hebrew, as they come before the words that answer to και ελαβον, and signify egregium pretium, taken in an ironical sense.

Ον επιμησαντο. Here the Greek words are in the third person plural, and the Hebrew אֲשֶׁר יִקְרָא, quo estimatus in the first person singular.

Απο υιων Ισραηλ. To these words מֵעַלְיָהֶם is said to answer. But if that were true, the Greek would not be a translation, but a paraphrase.

Και εδωκαν αυτα. These words are totally wanting in the Hebrew.

Εις τον αγρον. Likewise wanting in the Hebrew, though they relate to the chief subject of the quotation.

Το κεραμειος. It is true that a potter is mentioned in the Hebrew, but not a syllable of the potter's field.

Καθως συνιταξει μοι Κυριος. Likewise wanting in the Hebrew, for it would be too great a critical licence to

refer them to **וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֵלַי**, at the beginning of the 13th verse.

Besides, there are words in the Hebrew, of which no trace is discoverable in the quotation of St. Matthew, such as **וַיִּשְׁקֻלוּ** appenderunt, **אֶתְּ בֵּית דָּוִד אֲבִיכִי** idque in templum Dei abjeci, which last expression would hardly have been omitted by St. Matthew, if he had quoted from Zechariah.

The matter being thus circumstanced, it seems not a little extraordinary, that commentators should insist that St. Matthew has quoted from Zechariah, when the Evangelist himself declares that he has taken the passage from Jeremiah. As far as I am able to judge, the only mode of solving the difficulty, is to suppose that St. Matthew has borrowed the quotation from some fragment of Jeremiah which is no longer extant, especially as Jerom himself relates that he had seen it in an apocryphal book of that prophet, written in Hebrew, and in the hands of the Nazarenes<sup>c</sup>. The discovery, which has been made of this passage in a Coptic Lexionarium, I shall not mention here, as I have given an account of it in another place<sup>d</sup>. It is likewise probable, that it stood in certain copies of the Arabic translation, as appears from the relation of Dominicus Macer in his *Apparentes sacræ scripturæ contradictiones*, p. 25. sed hic prætereundum non est, quod mihi nuper ostendit D. Abraam Echellensis, Maronita, in Romano Sapientiæ Archigymnasio Chaldaicæ ac Arabicæ linguæ publicus professor, et meus in præcognoscendis Arabicis biblicis diligentissimus collega. Apud hunc virum inter complures libros Arabicos manuscriptos quidam singularis existit inscriptus liber margaritarum pretiosarum, estque de operibus Domini. Auctor hujus libri ait odio ac malitia Judæorum istam prophetiam erasam fuisse, unde cap. 7. loquens de Christi passione Jeremiæ verba citat, quæ ex Arabico in latinum conversa talia sunt: “tum dixit Jeremias ad Peshiur, tam diu cum patribus vestris estis contrarii veritati; filii autem vestri, qui venient post vos, perpetrabunt peccatum magis enorme quam vos, quoniam appretiabunt illum, qui

<sup>c</sup> See the Orient. Bibl. <sup>16</sup> Vol. IV. p. 207—211.

qui non habet pretium, et pati facient qui sanat morbos, et dimittit peccata. *Et accipient triginta argenteos pretium illius quem emerunt filii Israel, &c.*" Now even without the assistance of the Arabic and Coptic fragments, it is easy to see in what part of Jeremiah a passage similar to that quoted by St. Matthew might have stood, namely, after the sixth verse of the twentieth chapter; but we have reason to be dissatisfied with Jerom, for not having communicated the passage, which he had seen in the Jeremiah of the Nazarenes, as no doubt can be entertained that the Evangelist has quoted from a part of Jeremiah that is no longer extant. The question whether that passage was genuine, must be determined by the inspiration of St. Matthew: an inspired writer would hardly have quoted a text that was spurious, but if any one can convince me that St. Matthew was not inspired, I leave the quotation undetermined.

Another so remarkable instance of the quotation of a lost passage I do not at present recollect, though it is not improbable that St. James in the fourth chapter of his epistle, ver. 5. has introduced a maxim that formerly stood in the Proverbs of Solomon, which at present is sought in vain.

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## S E C T. VI.

### *Of the Rabbinical mode of quotation in the New Testament.*

**T**HE writers of the New Testament quote in general like the Rabbins, without mentioning the place, from which the quotation is taken, as they presuppose the reader to be so well acquainted with the Old Testament, that he will be able to find it without particular direction. To quote by chapter and verse was at that time impossible, yet there is a single instance. Acts xiii. 33. where a passage is expressly said to be taken from the first Psalm<sup>d</sup>,

<sup>d</sup> My reasons for preferring the reading *τῷ ψαλμῷ τῷ πρῶτῳ*, will appear in the sequel.

which very passage we read at present in the second, a matter which different critics have differently attempted to explain\*. The method used by the Rabbins to denote the section, from which they borrowed a quotation, has been described in the fifth section of the fourth chapter; to which I will here subjoin the following examples, Luke xx. 37. Mark xii. 26. Rom. xi. 2. in which a single word determines the place of the Old Testament from which those passages are taken<sup>a</sup>.

Heinsius has made a very just and useful observation, that sometimes the initial words only of a quoted passage are produced, while those, in which the force of the argument consists, or the absence of which destroys the connexion, are omitted. This was the usual practice of the Rabbins, as appears from numberless examples. Aben Ezra has the following remark on Hof. ii. 8. 'The Israelites had hitherto supposed that the Baals, to whom they sacrificed, had been the promoters of their prosperity, as we read *וּמִן אִזְ חָדְלָנוּ לְקַטֵּר לְמַלְכַּת הַשָּׁמַיִם*, i. e. since we left off to burn incense to the queen of heaven.' This quotation is taken from Jeremiah xliv. 18. but the principal words are omitted, namely, 'we have wanted all things, and have been consumed by the sword, and by the famine.' The same Rabbi observes on Hof. ii. 22. that *אֶעֱנֶה* is twice used in that sense, to denote the constant and the eternal. *כִּמוֹ נִשְׁאֹו נְהָרוֹת*. The words *נִשְׁאֹו נְהָרוֹת* are taken from Psalm xciii. 3. and are used twice, as *אֶעֱנֶה* is in the text of Hosea; but Aben Ezra has omitted the repetition, in which alone the similarity consists, and has left it to be supplied by his readers. In the same concise manner he has quoted Jerem. xxii. 3. in his note to Hof. ii. 23. It is true, that we ourselves, in certain cases quote only the initial words of a biblical text, but as the chapter and verse is usually prefixed, immediate reference can be made to the place, from which it

\* The manner in which I have attempted to reconcile the seeming contradiction, may be seen in the *Orient. Bibl.* Vol. II. p. 220<sup>1</sup>. My opinion was first founded on the Cassel Manuscript, and has been since confirmed by the discovery of another Manuscript, written in 1298.



it is taken. The Rabbins, on the contrary, without any reference whatsoever, quoted in this manner on every occasion; which presupposes in the reader a very intimate acquaintance with the Bible, an acquaintance the more to be expected from a Jew, as that book alone comprehended the whole compass of Jewish literature. This mode of quotation must have taken place in a very early period, for we find an instance of it in the first book of Maccabees, ch. vii. 17. where the verb belonging to *σαρκας αυτων* is omitted, and the construction thereby rendered imperfect<sup>3</sup>.

The Apostles and Evangelists have sometimes quoted in the same manner, of which *εκ επιθυμησης*, Rom. vii. 7. xiii. 9. is an undeniable instance<sup>4</sup>. In the following example, Rom. x. 8. *εγγυς σε το ρημα εστιν εν τω σωματι σε και εν τη καρδια σε*, there is undoubtedly wanting some principal word, the absence of which makes the construction itself deficient; for the words as they stand at present convey really no meaning, though enthusiasts have pretended to discover in them a certain inward light. But if we supply the words which are omitted, *ποιειν αυτο*, the whole passage becomes intelligible, and signifies, 'the word which is at hand, to do it with thy mouth and with thy heart;' and though St. Paul has not expressed them, it is certain that he understood them<sup>5</sup>, as appears from the following verses, where he shews in what manner the word of faith must be fulfilled in our mouths, and in our hearts. See the note to Deut. xxx. 14. in my German translation of the Bible<sup>6</sup>. St. Paul, Rom. x. 20. has quoted Isaiah lxv. 1. but only in part, and the words, which he has omitted, are more expressive, than those which he has produced; no doubt therefore can be made, that he intended to include those also in the quotation. Rom. xi. 27. a passage is quoted to prove the future general conversion and acceptation of the Jewish nation, *και αυτη αυτοις η παρ' εμε διαθηκη, οταν αφελωμαι τας αμαρτίας αυτων*, which breaks off so very abruptly, as to leave the sentence devoid of meaning, and even of grammatical construction. Here it is almost certain,

certain, that St. Paul intended, that after διαθηκη should be supplied that, which follows it in Isaiah lix. 21. which is so essential to his purpose; and with respect to οταν αφιλωμαι τας αμαρτίας αυτων, the Apostle intended that the reader should supply the whole passage taken from Jeremiah xxxi. 33—37. or these very words were in St. Paul's copy of Isaiah<sup>7</sup>. St. Matthew, ch. xxi. 13. quotes from Isaiah lvi. 7. ο οικος μου οικος προσευχης κληθησεται, but as the subject immediately related to the court of the Gentiles, which the sellers had profaned, by converting it into a market place, he naturally meant to imply the remaining words τοις εθνεσι, which St. Mark in the parallel place has expressed<sup>8</sup>. St. Luke, ch. i. 17. has quoted Malachi iv. 6. but has omitted half of the quotation<sup>9</sup>, which has occasioned some obscurity. See my Note on Heb. ii. 13<sup>10</sup>. Another instance, which however is doubtful, is that of γη Ζαβουλων, Matth. iv. 15.

From this mode of quotation we may conclude that the Apostles and Evangelists presupposed that their readers were well acquainted with the Old Testament, and that it formed the subject of their daily lecture.

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## C H A P. VI.

### CRITICAL INQUIRY INTO THE VARIOUS READINGS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

#### S E C T. I.

*The Autographa, or original manuscripts of the New Testament are lost.*

**A**UTOGRAPHHA, or original manuscripts of the New Testament<sup>1</sup>, are the first copies of each book, which were written either by the Apostles themselves, or by amanuenses under their immediate inspection. The latter mode was usually adopted by St. Paul, but to avoid the circulation of spurious epistles, he wrote the concluding benediction with his own hand<sup>2</sup>.

None

<sup>1</sup> See Rom. xvi. 22. Gal. vi. 11. and 2 Thess. iii. 17, 18, compared with Ch. ii. 2. 1 Cor. xvi. 21.

None of these original manuscripts are now remaining, nor could their preservation be expected, without the interposition of a miracle, during the space of seventeen centuries. Were they now extant, they would greatly exceed in antiquity the oldest manuscripts that are known, in which a thousand years are considered as a very great age, and none perhaps can be produced, that were written prior to the sixth century. The pretended original of St. Mark's Gospel at Venice will be more fully examined in the sequel: it is known at present to be nothing more than a copy of the Latin version, and, considering the dampness of the place, in which it is kept, the circumstance of its preservation, were it as antient as many have supposed, would be still more miraculous than the work itself.

But what benefit should we derive from the possession of these manuscripts, or what inconvenience do we sustain from their loss? No critic in classical literature inquires after the original of a profane author, or doubts of the authenticity of Cicero's Offices, because the copy is no longer extant, which Cicero wrote with his own hand. An antiquarian, or collector of antient records, will hardly maintain that the probability of these books being genuine is inferior to the probability that a record in his possession of the twelfth century is an authentic document of that period: for though his record is only six hundred years old, and the works of Cicero are thrice as antient, we are more exposed to imposition in the former instance, as the forgery of antiquities is often practised by those, whose business and profit is to lead the curious into error. But supposing that the original manuscripts of Cicero, Cæsar, Paul, and Peter were now extant, it would be impossible to decide whether they were spurious, or whether they were actually written by the hands of these authors. The case is different with respect to persons, who have lived in the two last centuries, whose hand-writing is known, with which a copy in question may be compared and determined; but we have no criterion, that can be applied to manuscripts so old as the

Christian æra. Yet admitting that these original writings were extant, that we had positive proofs of their authenticity, and, what is still more, that the long period of seventeen centuries had left the colour of the letters unfaded, still they would be no infallible guide in regard to the various readings. Mistakes of writing are frequently found in the copy, which proceeds from an author himself; in the publication of various works I have discovered, from revising the printed sheet, errors in the supposed correct manuscript that was sent to the printer, and the same inaccuracies might have happened to the copyist employed by St. Paul. The late Reiske has shewn with very convincing arguments that the copy of Abulfeda's Geography, in the university library at Leyden, is written with Abulfeda's own hand, yet in some cases we justly prefer the reading of other manuscripts, where the author seems to have committed an error, which was afterwards corrected in the publication of the work. But as the letters of the autographa must have been rendered illegible by length of time, they would afford no critical assistance in deciding on doubtful readings.

Knittel, in his edition of a Fragment of Ulphilas, p. 129<sup>2</sup>, accounts for the loss of the original manuscripts of the New Testament in a very extraordinary manner. He is of opinion, that the original Gospels and Epistles, as soon as the different communities, for whose use they were written had taken a copy, were returned to the authors; he says it was the general practice among the Christians of that age, and in support of that assertion appeals to a passage in Polycarp, and another in Jerom. His arguments seem very unsatisfactory, and it is reasonable to suppose that the very same accidents which have robbed us of other antient documents, have deprived us likewise of these originals. Dr. Semler, in his 'Attempt to elucidate an antient Fragment of the Gothic Version,' published at Halle in 1764<sup>3</sup>, has made several strictures on Knittel, and his work may be consulted by those who wish to have more ample information.

It has been concluded, from a passage of Ignatius, in  
the

the eighth chapter of his epistle to the Philadelphians, that some of the first Christians appealed to the original manuscripts at that time extant, and held them in great veneration; for which they were ridiculed, as is likewise inferred from the same passage, by the early fathers, and those who had the greatest authority in the church. To determine, whether this inference is justly drawn, it is necessary to read the whole epistle to the Philadelphians, which will throw more light on the subject, than all the writings, to which the contest has given birth in modern ages; two of these however I would recommend to the perusal of my readers, though I differ in opinion from the authors of both, namely, Pfaffii *Dissertatio de genuinis N. T. lectionibus*, § 1, 2, 3, and Frickii *Commentatio de cura Ecclesiæ Veteris circa canonem Sacræ Scripturæ*, cap. 14. § 5 and 16. According to the common translation, the passage in question is as follows, ‘I have heard some persons say, if I find it not in the original manuscripts (*ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις*) in the Gospel, I believe it not. And when I said, thus it is written, they answered here are the original manuscripts. But my original manuscript (*τὰ ἀρχαία*) is Jesus Christ, and the incorruptible writings are his Cross, and his Death, and his Resurrection, and Faith in him<sup>b</sup>.’ If this translation were accurate, it would of course follow, that the original manuscripts of the Apostles existed in the time of Ignatius, but it would likewise follow that the answer of the apostolic father was extremely weak. Now *ἀρχαία* appears to me to convey no other meaning than the writings of the Old Testament, in which case the words of Ignatius ought to be translated in the following manner, ‘I have heard some persons say, If I find it not in the Old Testament (*ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις*, i.e. *γράμμασι*) I believe it not, and when I said thus it is written (appealing probably to the Greek Bible), they answered, Here is the Old Testament (referring

<sup>b</sup> Some of the copies instead of *ἀρχαία* and *ἀρχαίοις*, have *ἀρχαία* and *ἀρχαίους*, according to which reading appeal was made to the archives of the churches, in which faithful transcripts of the New Testament were preserved<sup>4</sup>.

ferring to the Hebrew original). But to me is Jesus Christ the oldest book, and my incorruptible book is his Cross, his Death, his Resurrection, and Faith in him.' Ignatius disputed with persons, who, though not of Jewish origin, yet preached, as he calls it, Judaism, because they believed only those tenets which could be proved from the Old Testament as well as from the New; and the distinction which he has made previous to the passage in question between the New Testament and the prophets, implies that his opponents had preferred the prophets to the Gospel. His words are, "I flee to the Gospel as to the body of Christ himself, and to the Apostles as the high council of his church. Though we respect the prophets because they have predicted the Gospel, &c." and soon after he says, "Will any man preach the Jewish religion, hear him not: it is better to hear the doctrines of Christ from one circumcised, than Judaism from one uncircumcised. But if neither of them speak of Christ, regard them as inscribed stones, or monuments of the dead, on which are the names only of men." According to this explanation, the apostolic father has given a proper answer: the Christian religion, confirmed by miracles, can stand of itself without foreign support, and the request was unreasonable that the articles of faith should be likewise demonstrated from the Old Testament. But in this manner the passage, to which appeal is made, in order to prove the existence of the original manuscripts in the time of Ignatius, is found to relate to a different subject.

Tertullian, in his *Treatise de Præscriptionibus*, § 36. refers to many autographa<sup>c</sup> as still extant, and Peter, an Alexandrine bishop of the fourth century, appeals to an original manuscript of St. John's Gospel, preserved and worshipped at Ephesus<sup>d</sup>. But as true criticism was at that time imperfectly understood, the character of antiquity

<sup>c</sup> That Tertullian understands by authenticæ literæ the original epistles, has been shewn by J. E. J. Walch, in his essay *De Apostolorum literarum authenticis a Tertulliano commemoratis*.

<sup>d</sup> See Dionysii Petavii *Uranologia*, p. 397.

quity was often applied by fraud and superstition to objects, that were only modern. Tertullian, in defending the cause of religion and the church, is too partial an advocate to be entitled to implicit faith; and by magnifying his account, so as to exceed the bounds of probability, he renders his evidence still more suspicious. He says, “*apud quas authenticæ literæ apostolorum recitantur*,” but it is hardly credible that the epistles were usually read in the public service at Philippi, Corinth, Thessalonica, Ephesus, and Rome, from those very originals, which the Apostle, a century and a half previous to that period, sent to those communities; for if the church had been still in possession of those precious manuscripts, instead of exposing them to the danger of being worn out by frequent use, it would rather have preserved them in its archives, and made use of transcripts for the common service.

It has been justly remarked, that the original of St. Paul's Epistles to the Romans could not have been extant in the middle of the second century; for Marcion, who made so many alterations in the text of the New Testament, came himself to Rome, where an appeal to the original, had it then existed, must have exposed him to public shame, wherever his alterations were unwarranted, and have confirmed those which were really grounded; but as the History of the Church is silent upon this subject, it is reasonable to suppose that no such comparison either was or could be made.

The early loss of the Autographa of the New Testament affords just matter of surprise, when we reflect that the original manuscripts of Luther, and other eminent men who lived at the time of the Reformation, whose writings are of much less importance than those of the Apostles, are still subsisting. Various causes may have contributed to this extraordinary circumstance, of which several have been alledged in Griesbach's *Historia textus epistolarum Pauli*, sect. ii. § 7, 8. My sentiments upon this subject are as follows.

The original manuscripts, that are now extant, are chiefly



chiefly of such works, as have never been published; but when a book is made known to the public, the handwriting of the author ceases to be of value, and dwindles into oblivion. The edition itself supplies the place of the author's copy, which a printer thinks it useless to preserve, when the publication is finished. In the same manner the several books of the New Testament circulated among the Christians in numerous copies: these were soon collected into a volume, and formed the edition in general use; and as no disputes had then arisen on the subject of various readings, they felt not the necessity of preserving in a common archive the manuscripts of the Apostles. The situation of the Christian churches was at that time extremely different from the present<sup>7</sup>: the most eminent, which were those of Rome and Corinth, consisted of a number of small societies, that assembled separately in private houses, having no public building as a common receptacle for the whole community; and even in those private houses a moderate number only could meet together, as it was their custom not merely to pray and to teach, but likewise to celebrate their feasts of love. The epistle, which they had received from St. Paul, was not the property of any one society in particular, but belonged to the community at large, and that which was sent to the Corinthians was addressed to the communities throughout all Achaia. Each society copied the epistle in its turn, and beside the general copies, many individuals probably took copies for themselves, whence the original manuscript of the Apostle, in passing through so many hands, where perhaps not always the greatest care was taken, must unavoidably have suffered. The Christian communities in Rome and Corinth had no common archive, or public library, in which the manuscript of the Apostle might have been afterwards deposited; for want of which the original, as soon as a sufficient number of copies had been made, was forgotten and lost. In other cities the number of single societies, among which the epistle was divided, was inferior indeed to that in Rome, Corinth, or Ephesus, but the

the same causes contributed in each to the loss of the original epistle.

The late or early loss of the Autographa has no influence on the grounds of our faith, for the credibility of a book, which during the life of the author has been made known to the world, depends not on the preservation of the author's manuscript. No reader of the present work will inquire after the copy, which I send to the printer, to determine whether the work itself be spurious or authentic; nor was it necessary, for determining the authenticity of the New Testament, to preserve the originals, for each book, during the lives of the Apostles, was circulated throughout the Christian world in numberless copies, though they were not collected during that period into a single volume.

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## S E C T. II.

*Whether the early loss of the Autographa has occasioned mistakes in all the subsequent copies. Two-fold edition of the books of the New Testament, one before, the other after, the death of the Apostles.*

AS the Autographa of the New Testament fell so early into oblivion, it is natural to inquire, whether the true reading of certain passages be not entirely lost, and without any trace, either in the oldest manuscript, or in the most antient version. This question, delivered in other terms, amounts to nothing more than, whether it be not allowable, in certain cases, to make use of critical conjecture in the New Testament, as well as in other books. We take this liberty with writers in general, and correct sometimes the very manuscript, which an author had written with his own hand, who, as well as a copyist, is exposed to the danger of writing wrong. The oldest manuscripts of the New Testament were made many centuries after the loss of the originals; we must inquire therefore into the mode of publication adopted in

in the first age of Christianity, with respect to those writings which compose at present the New Testament. No certain historical evidence can be produced on this subject, our accounts of the primitive church, like those of all societies and nations in their state of infancy, being imperfect and obscure. But no doubt can be entertained that the several parts of the New Testament underwent originally a two-fold publication ; and the answer to our present inquiry must be determined by deciding which of those publications formed the basis of those manuscripts, which are now extant.

I. The first publication consisted in the distribution of the single parts of the New Testament, as well epistles as Gospels, of which copies were taken not only for those communities, to which they were immediately addressed, but likewise for the Christians, who were dispersed in different provinces. That this is true of the epistles of St. Paul, appears from 2 Pet. iii. 16<sup>1</sup>. and it is probable that St. Paul himself had copies taken of the thirteen epistles which are still extant, in order to distribute them in the Christian world, and even that he collected these epistles into a volume. If that be true, which I shall attempt to demonstrate in the sequel, that St. Paul wrote very many epistles, beside the thirteen which are found in the New Testament, it is inconceivable that no fragment, nor even the smallest trace of them, should any where be visible, if their publication had depended on the persons, to whom they were addressed\*. For each community must have been partial to that epistle which they themselves had received, and as curiosity alone would have tempted numbers to purchase copies, if copies could have been procured, some fragments at least would have remained, in which we should discover the singular style of the Apostle. But as no such discovery has hitherto been made, it seems as if the right of publishing depended on the writer, and that a pretension to that

\* I speak not at present of the epistle to the Hebrews, which was either not written by St. Paul, or written in Hebrew and translated into Greek.

that privilege from other persons, during the life of the author, was considered as a breach of literary property<sup>†</sup>. Cicero says, in one of his epistles to Atticus<sup>‡</sup>, ‘dic mihi placetne tibi primum edere injussu meo? Hoc ne Hermodorus<sup>§</sup> quidem faciebat. If the above argument be thought not absolutely conclusive, yet so much at least is certain, that St. Paul took part in the publication of his thirteen epistles.

It seems highly probable, from 2 Thess. ii. 2. that, so early as the year, in which St. Paul wrote his second epistle to the Thessalonians, there circulated among the Christian communities other epistles than those, which the Apostle had immediately addressed to them, some of which being spurious, he teaches in the third chapter, ver. 17, 18. how to distinguish them from the genuine. Now these spurious epistles could have hardly been written to the Thessalonians themselves, as the imposture would have been too glaring and too easily detected. The mark of distinction to which St. Paul refers, is probably the concluding benediction, ‘The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ be with you all, Amen,’ which in the genuine copies was written with the Apostle’s own hand. If this be true, the Apostles must be considered as publishers of their own writings, but as the thought is new, I submit it to the consideration of the learned<sup>‡</sup>.

In these first editions of the single books of the New Testament, in the time of the Apostles and Evangelists, mistakes in writing were as unavoidable, as in modern ages mistakes in printing, as it lies beyond the reach of human abilities to produce what is absolutely perfect. It was impossible for St. Paul, or any other Apostle, to revise and correct all the copies which were taken of his writings; but as the errata of the different transcribers related to different passages, and it is hardly possible that all could have failed in the same manner, and in the same text, if we were still in possession of all the copies of

<sup>†</sup> Lib. XIII. epist. 21.

<sup>‡</sup> To whom the following witticism was applied, Λογισιν Ερμωδου; εμ. πορνευται, Suidas, Tom. I. p. 456.

of this first edition, we might be certain that the true reading of every doubtful text of the New Testament might be discovered in some one of them, and with proper judgement he distinguished from the false. Griesbach, in his *Historia Textus Epistolarum Pauli*, sect. ii. §. 14. is of opinion that the members of the Western Church continued during a longer period the use of the ancient copies of single epistles. Could this supposition be confirmed by historical evidence, the Western manuscripts would secure us from the apprehension of having lost the true reading of any passage, but it would render at the same time extremely dubious the right of critical conjecture<sup>4</sup>.

II. After the death of all, or the greatest part of the Apostles, was formed that collection of writings which we call at present the New Testament. It contained at first not all the books, which we find in it at present, the four catholic epistles for instance being wanting; and the copy, which was used by the old Syriac translator, had not the epistle to the Hebrews, for this epistle has all the appearance of having been translated by another hand, and in a later period. It is uncertain by whom the collection was made, perhaps by the elders of the church of Ephesus, but we can only conjecture, as we have no historical evidence. It was undoubtedly made after the death of most of the Apostles, and after the destruction of Jerusalem, as it contained the Gospel of St. John, which was written after that event; whether that Apostle was still alive when the collection was made, is likewise uncertain, but it must have happened in the first century<sup>5</sup>, as the old Syriac version was taken from it, and we have reason to suppose that this version itself was made before the first century had elapsed<sup>6</sup>. Now, in forming this collection, it is not probable that the Autographa of the several books of the New Testament were sought among all the Christian communities dispersed throughout the Roman empire; the silence of history on this subject is a proof of the contrary, for the knowledge of so remarkable an event, as the forming a volume of

sacred writings, to which the Eastern and the Western churches contributed their assistance, would have been preserved at least by tradition. The most natural opinion is, that the collector of these writings acted in the same manner as the collector of every other set of writings, that he procured as fair and accurate a copy as possible of every book, and placed them together in a volume. Whatever mistakes were in these single copies, (and no copies can be supposed to be perfectly free from faults) were of course transferred to all the transcripts, which were made from this general collection. And as we have reason to suppose that all our manuscripts of the New Testament, as well as those from which the Old versions were made, proceeded from this collection, it is possible that the true reading of several texts is absolutely lost, which we can restore only by the help of critical conjecture. I will conclude this section by remarking that some few of our various readings may possibly be corrections of the text of this collection, made after its publication, and founded on the authority of more accurate transcripts of single books taken previous to that period.

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S E C T. III.

*Various Readings, of which only one can be the true reading, were unavoidable in the New Testament.*

**I**N a book of such antiquity, and so frequently transcribed as the New Testament, the admission of mistakes was unavoidable, which encreasing with the multiplication of the copies, there arose a great variety of different readings. Whatever pains had been taken by the transcribers, unless they had been inspired as well as the Apostles, it was impossible to avoid making some few mistakes, such for instance as leaving out a line, when two lines following begin or end with the same word. Whoever doubts of the truth of this assertion, may make

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the trial by transcribing a few pages of the Greek Testament, and comparing his copy with the original. Or he may examine a printed sheet as it comes from the press, in which he will often find mistakes after the second and third correction. In an edition of the Bible, the press is sometimes corrected five times before the work is printed off; yet in the very editions which are called *mirabiles*, as if absolutely perfect, we discover typographical errors<sup>b</sup>. If Providence therefore watches not over those impressions of the New Testament, so as to produce a faultless copy, though printed with the greatest care, and revised with the utmost attention, it is in vain to expect a faultless manuscript.

It is possible that many mistakes, in the first manuscript of a work, may be detected as manifest orthographical errors, such as *pulres* for *plures*, in the preface to Stephens's *editio mirabilis* of the New Testament, which deserves not the name of a various reading, because it is an evident erratum of the printer. But this is not always the case in a book of high antiquity and importance, where every syllable is regarded with the greatest veneration. Mistakes themselves admit sometimes an explanation, the repetition of them in subsequent copies increase their authority, and though art is often requisite to procure them the shadow of a meaning, we allow, on the credit of several manuscripts, a reading, which, if found only in one, would be instantly rejected as an error of the copyist. An evident mistake in one transcript may be corrected in another, by the addition or subtraction of a letter or a syllable, so as to give the expression a meaning different from the original, and in such cases what at first was orthographical error, acquires the title of a various reading. These various readings are often

<sup>b</sup> In the treatise *De Principio Indiscernibilium*, p. 219, of the second volume of my *Syntagma Commentationum*, the reader will find a remarkable instance of an erratum in an edition of the New Testament called *Stephanica Mirabilis*, which in the preface, p. 3. has *pulres* for *plures*.



often difficult to be distinguished from mere mistakes; in many examples, what appears at first sight to be an error of the transcriber, is found, on a more minute inquiry, to convey an adequate sense; and we discover sometimes in a word, that seems totally without meaning, a remnant of the true original reading, in which one or more letters have, by time or accident, been erased. The difficulty of this distinction is particularly great in regard to the New Testament, which has not only been copied times unnumbered, but is considered as the fountain of knowledge by Christians of every denomination, whether orthodox, heterodox, or heretics, all of whom have contributed their share in altering and amending according to their respective principles.

It is useless to appeal to the care and attention of the early Christians in copying the New Testament, since with the best intentions they had not ability to effect, what lies not within the power of the best regulated press. But this boasted attention in every copyist is totally ungrounded, for they were often men of no knowledge, who wrote for hire. To appeal to the interposition of Providence, which could not, as is supposed, allow the admission of errors, is a violation of common sense; it is to prescribe rules for the conduct of Providence, and from those rules to draw an unwarranted conclusion; it is to argue in the same manner, as if an historian in relating the account of a battle, should premise that Providence could not fail to give victory to the just party, and instead of abiding by real facts, determine from those premises the event of the action. In short, it implies an impossibility, unless we assume a series of never-ceasing miracles; for no transcriber, when left to his own natural abilities, will ever produce a copy, that is perfectly similar in every letter to the original. This subject belongs, in some measure, to the principium indiscernibilium, from which we derive the maxim, Art cannot produce a perfect imitation \*.

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\* See my *Programma de Principio indiscernibilium*, p. 219, 220.

The foregoing observations would have been entirely useless, had not many learned divines in the former part of this century<sup>a</sup> been alarmed at the immense number of various readings in the New Testament, and maintained that we should at all events deny them, as inconsistent with divine inspiration. But as the editions of Mill and Wettstein contain so many examples of different readings, which cannot possibly be referred to the class of simple errata, it is useless to deny what lies open to the sight. This mode of thinking, with respect to the New Testament, seems therefore to have vanished; but as the same complaints have been renewed in later times, in regard to the various readings collected of the Old Testament, there is reason to apprehend that ignorance may raise the voice again in some future period, as in the age of Mill, whose work a pious but unlettered zeal condemned as impious. The late Bengel, whose truly devout and religious character was universally acknowledged, contributed in a great measure to introduce a more rational way of thinking, and the critical treatment which the New Testament received under his hands, removed gradually that anxiety and suspicion, which the various readings had before excited.

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#### S E C T. IV.

##### *Difference between Errata, and Various Readings.*

**A**MONG two or more different readings, one only can be the true reading, and the rest must be either wilful corruptions or mistakes of the copyist. It is often difficult to distinguish the genuine from the spurious, and whenever the smallest doubt can be entertained, they all receive the name of Various Readings; but in cases where the transcriber has evidently written false, they receive the name of Errata. The application of this rule in particular cases is again attended with difficulty, for, though no doubt can be made, that if one manu-  
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script has a word that conveys no meaning, and another manuscript has a reading, that is intelligible, and suited to the connexion, that the former is an actual mistake; yet it is possible, and in the New Testament it has frequently happened, that a reading which was supposed to be unintelligible, may on a more minute enquiry, and a more intimate acquaintance with the language, be found to be well adapted to the purpose for which it was used. A distinction must be likewise made between a book of such antiquity as the New Testament, and a production of modern ages. If I had an hundred copies of a new book, and ninety-nine of them agreed in a particular reading, for which the hundredth had a different word, I should not hesitate a moment to pronounce that the reading of the ninety-nine proceeded from the author, and the reading in the hundredth from the transcriber, even were its meaning as perspicuous, as that supported by the authority of the ninety-nine. But an hundred manuscripts of a book so antient as the New Testament is a very small number, in comparison with the thousands and tens of thousands which are lost; here then it is possible, and often highly probable, that the true reading is preserved in only one of the manuscripts, that are now extant, and not impossible that it is contained in none.

The editors of the Greek and Latin classics have been often too negligent in collecting the readings of the different manuscripts, in order to restore the text of their author, and have sometimes rejected as a manifest error, a word that has been afterwards discovered to be the genuine reading. Collectors therefore of the various lections of the New Testament are not to be censured, if they sometimes produce expressions, which are taken for manifest errors of the copyists. A diffidence in their own judgement, and a regard to critical fidelity, may induce them to lay before the public the spurious as well as the genuine documents; and if they have fallen into error, their error is excusable, as it is better to collect too much than too little.

Inaccuracies of grammar are commonly referred to the

class of errata, and thought not to merit a place in a collection of various readings but, neither apparent, nor even real grammatical errors, are at all times to be rejected. A false method of construing the words of the context may give a various reading the appearance of being ungrammatical, and in other instances, that, which seems to be a real fault, may be a lawful, though unusual exception from the general rule. The author himself may have committed a grammatical mistake, and when this is really the case, the erroneous reading is the genuine, and not to be altered by the rules of grammar. That such examples are frequently found in the book of Revelation has been remarked above, and they will be examined more at large in the second part.

The most striking orthographical errors are those which are called Itacisms, and arise from confounding  $\alpha$ ,  $\eta$ ,  $\iota$ ,  $\alpha\iota$ ,  $\epsilon$ , &c. with one another, errors which are peculiar to certain manuscripts. But if that which seems an oversight of the copyist alters the sense, and is found in several manuscripts, it deserves to be ranked among the various readings, and it is sometimes difficult to determine what is original, and what is oversight; for instance, Rom. xiii. 5. where for  $\nu\pi\omicron\tau\alpha\sigma\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma\alpha\iota$ , we find in four manuscripts  $\nu\pi\omicron\tau\alpha\sigma\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma\epsilon$ , which is also expressed in two versions. Readings of this nature ought always to be noticed in every collection, but it is a question whether those ought not to be omitted which are palpable mistakes. Now in such general collections as those of Mill and Wetstein, except in those few examples where critical conjecture has raised them nearly to the level of various readings, they ought undoubtedly to be rejected: but when only two manuscripts are collated, a diligent attention, to every even orthographical error, might be attended with advantage, might enable us to judge how far the inaccuracies of the Greek transcribers, especially those arising from the Itacism, have gone, and thus direct us, on some occasions, in the proper choice of a various reading. Cesar de Missy has compared two manuscripts

scripts<sup>1</sup> in this minute and painful manner, but the influence which such a collation may have on the criticism of the New Testament will be shewn in the sequel.

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## S E C T. V.

*Whether our Faith is affected by the Various Readings.*

**I**T is a very ungrounded fear, that the number of Various Readings, which either have been, or shall hereafter be collected of the New Testament, may diminish the certainty of the Christian religion. Instead of being alarmed at their number, we ought rather to exult, as the probability of restoring the genuine text of an author increases with the increase of the copies, and the most inaccurate and mutilated editions of antient writers are precisely those where the fewest manuscripts remain<sup>1</sup>. As no copy can be perfect, and each has its peculiar errors, a want of various readings implies either a poverty of manuscripts, or that the copies which are extant are all taken from the same antient manuscript<sup>2</sup>, whose faults are of course transmitted to the subsequent transcripts, whether accidental mistakes of a copyist, or intended alterations of a critic. No book is more exposed to the suspicion of wilful corruptions, than the New Testament, for the very reason that it is the fountain of divine knowledge; and if in all the manuscripts now extant we found a similarity in the readings, we should have reason to suspect that the ruling party of the Christian church had endeavoured to annihilate whatever was inconsistent with its own tenets, and by the means of violence to produce a general uniformity in the sacred text. Whereas the different readings of the manuscripts in our possession afford sufficient proof that they were written independently of each other by persons separated by distance of time, remoteness of place, and diversity

<sup>1</sup> See the Orient. Bibl. Vol. XI. p. 182—192<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> See Ernesti's preface to Tacitus, p. 17.

versity of opinions. They are not the works of a single faction, but of Christians of all denominations, whether dignified with the title of orthodox, or branded by the ruling church with the name of heretic; and though no single manuscript can be regarded as a perfect copy of the writings of the Apostles, yet the Truth lies scattered in them all, which it is the business of critics to select from the general mass.

A comparison of the New Testament with the Old will make the matter still clearer. Before the middle of the present century, it was supposed that all the manuscripts of the Old Testament, with exception to a few orthographical errors, were similar to each other, or in other words without various readings of any consequence. If this were true, our biblical criticism would be in a very deplorable state, as it would be certain that all our manuscripts had been wholly altered from the Masora; and as the Masorets were assuredly not infallible, every mistake which they committed must have been transmitted to us; a true reading lost in the Masora, must have been irrecoverably lost to posterity, and in every doubtful passage, instead of referring to the authority of manuscripts, no other resource would remain than critical conjecture<sup>2</sup>. No solid answer could have then been given to the suspicion of the Jews having altered the Hebrew text<sup>3</sup> to serve the purposes of their religion, unless some antient versions, such as the Syriac and the Greek had still been extant, which lay beyond the reach of their amendments: but then these antient versions, as being the only criterion by which the Hebrew text could have been examined and confirmed, would have often usurped an authority over the original itself. The collection of Kennicott has shewn these apprehensions to be ungrounded, the manuscripts are not uniform, as we supposed, and a great number of very different readings has been discovered, of which many are ratified by their coincidence with the antient versions. But ample as the collection may appear, it is only a part of what remains to be executed by future critics, for in many passages which

which are deservedly suspected, no various reading has been found, and the antient versions differ not seldom from the common text, in places where all our manuscripts are uniformly the same; whence we may reasonably conclude, that the manuscripts hitherto collated are either too few, or too modern. We have knowledge of none, that are older than the Masora, and those which are at present in our possession have been too exactly regulated by that standard. The antient and genuiue reading, therefore, is often totally lost<sup>1</sup>, and in numerous examples we have no other aid than antient versions, and critical conjecture. These are inconveniences which are infinitely less felt in the criticism of the New Testament, because we are assisted by the immense number of different readings.

The learned labours then of Mill and Wettstein deserve our warmest approbation, and we have reason to wish that future critics may again present us with similar collections. Without the aid of various readings, we must rely on the authority of a single manuscript, or a single edition, which if we suppose to be perfect, or absolutely free from all mistakes, we must believe that either the copyist, or the printer, or the editor, were inspired by the Holy Ghost. If various readings were actually injurious to our religion, and deprived it of its absolute certainty, yet as truth is preferable to every other consideration, it would be as absurd to deny both them and their consequence, as to close our eyes in order to conceal a danger, that presents itself distinctly to the sight. But experience has shewn that no such inference can be deduced; their discovery has shaken the foundation of no fundamental article of faith, but on the other hand has rescued numberless examples from obscurity.

If the Christian religion be true, of which no doubt can be entertained, it is impossible that its truth should be affected by a comparison of its original documents; the various readings can have no influence in altering those

<sup>1</sup> See the *Orient. Bibl.* Vol. XI. N<sup>o</sup>. 1819.



those doctrines that are really grounded, and we are not destitute of critical assistance in distinguishing the genuine from the spurious. I will divide my remarks on this subject into the six following heads :

1. By the laws of criticism<sup>s</sup>, which will be given in the sequel, we are able to distinguish in most cases the true reading from the false.

2. It is not to be denied that some few of the various readings affect doctrines as well as words, and without caution might produce error ; but these are so few, that the generality of divines would be unable to recollect a single instance, and these few are so easily distinguished by critical rules, that not one has been selected by the reformers of the present age, as the basis of a new doctrine.

3. On the other hand, the discovery of the various readings has removed many objections which had been made to the New Testament, of which the motion of the water in the pool Bethesda, by the intervention of an angel, John v. 4. is a striking example<sup>m</sup>.

4. It is true that the number of proof passages, in support of certain doctrines, has been diminished by our knowledge of the various readings. We are certain, for instance, that 1 John v. 7. is a spurious passage, but the doctrine contained in it is not therefore changed, since it is delivered in other parts of the New Testament. After the most diligent enquiry, especially by those who would banish the Divinity of Christ from the articles of our religion, not a single various reading<sup>r</sup> has been discovered in the two principal passages John i. 1. and Rom. ix. 5. and this very doctrine, instead of being shaken by the collections of Mill and Wetstein, has been rendered more certain than ever. This is so strongly felt by the modern reformers in Germany, that they begin to think less favourably of that species of criticism which they at first so highly recommended, in the hope of its leading to discoveries more suitable to their maxims, than the antient system.

5. The most important readings, which make an alteration in the sense, relate in general to subjects that have

<sup>m</sup> See the Orient. Bibl. Vol. III. p. 16—20 <sup>6</sup>.

have no connexion with articles of faith, of which the Cambridge manuscript, that differs more than any other from the common text, affords sufficient proof.

6. By far the greatest number relate to trifles, and make no alteration in the sense, such as *Καγω* for *και εγω*, *ελαττων* for *ελασσω*, *Κυριος* for *Θεος*, (which in most cases may be used indifferently). This observation was made by Kuster, in his preface to Mill's edition of the New Testament.

It has been thought superfluous to collect those readings, which appear to make no alteration in the sense, and Mill has been censured for this painful accuracy by Bayer in his *Dissertatio de variis Lectionibus Scripturæ Sacræ*, §. 5. seq. But this censure is extremely unjust, for that which appears to a collector to be trifling, may be afterwards found to be important. The difference even of an article must not be neglected in collating a manuscript, for we know that *υιος ανθρωπου* has a different meaning from *ο υιος της ανθρωπου*, the Socinian distinguishes *Θεος* from *ο Θεος*, and Kluyt has grounded his explanation of Luke ii. 2. chiefly on the use of the Greek article<sup>a</sup>. By these minutiae the reader is likewise enabled to judge of the merits of a manuscript, whether the copyist has transcribed with care, in what country it was written, to what other manuscripts it is related, or from what more antient manuscript it was copied<sup>a</sup>. But where it is the object of an author to make only a choice collection of the most important readings, as was the case with Bengel and Griesbach, an attention to these seeming trifles is not to be expected.

The adversaries of the Christian religion have no reason then to triumph in the formidable number of our various readings, and the members of the church of Rome take in vain occasion to depreciate the authenticity of the Greek text, in order to promote the authority of the Vulgate. The Latin version has a greater number of various readings, than the Greek original, and even those two editions, which have been revised by two different

<sup>a</sup> See Wettstein's *Prolegomena*, p. 199—201.

different Popes, and both declared to be authentic, are contradictory to each other°. But these catholics, who make use of this argument, mistake the principles of their own church, which has never declared the Vulgate to be infallible in a critical sense. The holy Pontiff usurps no authority but in matters of conscience, and leaves subjects of criticism to the discussion of the learned.

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## S E C T. VI.

*Of the origin of the Various Readings, and the best methods of discovering their different causes.*

**I**T is impossible to form an accurate judgement on the various readings, without a knowledge of the different sources from which they arise, and through ignorance on a subject on which every setter of a press could have given them information; men of high rank in the republic of letters, have frequently formed rules on those very grounds on which they ought to be rejected.

One of the best methods of discovering their different causes is to compare negligent copies with the original manuscript of an author, and in every example where the copyist has deviated from the original, to examine the particular circumstances, which might have led him into error. The other method, from which the greatest benefit has been derived, though reckoned among the unavoidable evils in the world, is to correct the press in the publication of any work. Here we are not left to mere conjecture, as is too often the fate of critics, but can immediately distinguish truth from falsehood; we have the author's copy before our eyes, and have a certain guide to direct us, not only in discovering mistakes, but likewise in detecting the causes which produced them. The same advantage which a natural philosopher derives from actual experiments, is presented to the critic by the faulty sheets

• See James's *Bellum Papale*, five *Concordia Discors Sixti V. et Clementis VIII.*

sheets of the first impressions, which from a careful examination of the mistakes of the compositor, may enable him in most cases to decide on the causes which gave birth to error in antient manuscripts. In correcting the press, I have observed numberless examples of the omission of phrases and passages, that stood between two words with the same termination; it is no wonder therefore that the same mistake has frequently happened to transcribers. The habit of correcting the press, and revising inaccurate copies of modern writings, gives a readiness and ability in distinguishing the true reading of an antient manuscript from the false, which men of the deepest learning can never attain without it. Erasmus was deservedly esteemed a most accurate critic; but he was in a measure indebted for the accuracy of his criticisms to the circumstance of his being many years corrector in a printing office. It must however be observed, that where the analogy fails between writing and printing, no inference can be drawn from the one to the other; the errors arising from the compositor's mistaking the types have no relation to the former, and those arising from the mode of dictating to several copyists at once have no reference to the latter.

Profane criticism has been cultivated by greater numbers, and with more success, than the criticism of the Bible; a knowledge therefore of this branch of learning is highly useful to a theologian, especially on the subject of the various readings. Every commentator on the Bible, should first exercise his talents in the Greek and Latin classics, or at least be well acquainted with the critical researches of other literati; without a knowledge of which he is exposed to the danger of committing the most glaring mistakes. The New Testament has been more fortunate in this respect than the Old, many of its critical commentators having been men profoundly skilled in Grecian literature, and Wetstein neither was nor could be guilty of those errors which we often find in critical remarks on the Old Testament. It is not my intention to signify, that the rules for judging of the Greek and Latin

Latin classics, are at all times applicable to the New Testament; in some cases directly opposite principles must be adopted, and what I here advance must be confined to the various readings.

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## S E C T. VII.

### *Five causes of the Various Readings.*

**T**HE various readings in our manuscripts of the New Testament have been occasioned by one of the five following causes,

1. The omission, addition, or exchange of letters, syllables or words, from the mere carelessness of the transcribers.
2. Mistakes of the transcribers in regard to the true text of the original.
3. Errors or imperfections in the antient manuscript from which the transcriber copied.
4. Critical conjecture, or intended improvements of the original text.
5. Wilful corruptions to serve the purposes of a party, whether orthodox or heterodox.

To the last cause alone I apply the word corruption, for though every text that deviates from original purity, may so far be said to be corrupted, yet as the term is somewhat invidious, it is unjust to apply it to innocent or accidental alterations.

The treatise of my late Father, entitled *Tractatio critica de variis lectionibus Novi Testamenti caute colligendis et dijudicandis*, § 4—8. published at Halle in 1749, may be consulted upon this subject; it is the foundation on which I have built, and contains many instances which it is unnecessary to quote at present, as I  
hope

hope that every reader of this Introduction has the treatise itself in his possession<sup>p</sup>.

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## S E C T. VIII.

*First Cause. The omission, addition, or exchange of letters, syllables, or words, from the mere carelessness of transcribers<sup>q</sup>.*

**I**N the first place, the omission of letters, syllables, or words, is very frequently occasioned merely by the hurry and negligence of transcribers, as we know from the experience of copying even our own writings. The various readings collected by Wetstein, afford numberless examples; and when in a single manuscript or edition a word, to which in other respects no objection can be made, is omitted, the omission is to be ranked among the simple errata<sup>r</sup>, as in the Codex Cantabrigiensis, Matth. xi. 7. where the article *ὁ* is omitted before *Ἰησους*, and in the Codex Alexandrinus, which is the only manuscript in which *δια της πηγης* is omitted, Rom. iii. 25. A single manuscript, and the edition of Colinæus alone, omit *εαν*, Matth. x. 14. the omission is therefore an erratum. But if several manuscripts agree in the omission of a word, it is entitled to a place among the various readings<sup>s</sup>, and, as in making a collection, no one can be certain what examples may be found in future, the omission in a single manuscript is not unworthy of notice.

Omissions are frequently occasioned by what is called an *ομοιοτελευτον*, or when a word, after a short interval, occurs a second time in a passage: here the transcriber, having written the word at the beginning of a passage, in looking again at the book from which he copies, his eye catches the same word at the end of the passage, and con-

<sup>p</sup> Though written in his sixty-ninth year, it is in my opinion the best of his productions: the second rank I would allot to his dissertations on several subjects of grammar and history: the third to his *Notæ uberiores* on the Proverbs of Solomon.

continuing to write what immediately follows, he of course omits the intermediate words. Wetstein's Codex 22, omits entirely Matth. x. 40. where the copyist was led into error by two following verses beginning with *ο δεχομενος*. We find, Matth. xi. 18, 19. *μητε πινων, και λεγασι δαίμονιον εχει. Ηλθεν ο υιος τε ανθρωπου εσθιων και πινων*; here Wetstein's Codex 59 omits all the words between the first and second *πινων*. The Fragmentum Borgianum omits *μισειν υμας εμε δε*, John vii. 7. and leaves the passage totally without meaning<sup>4</sup>. A great number of manuscripts have a similar omission, Rev. ix. 1, 2. Knittel having collated a manuscript of the Revelation found that the transcriber had fallen into this mistake not less than twelve different times in that book alone<sup>5</sup>, nor is it unfrequently detected in the Hebrew manuscripts of the Old Testament, as I have shewn in another place<sup>6</sup>. In short, no error in writing is more easily or more frequently committed, and it is not seldom the reason that several manuscripts agree in the omission of the same passage.

As nearly an hundred and fifty manuscripts of the New Testament have been actually collated, an omission of this nature in four or five might be justly considered as a mere erratum. Were the number more considerable, it might be reckoned among the various readings; but if even one half of the manuscripts agreed in the omission, they would not be equivalent to the remaining half, as the omission of a passage between two homoioteleuta is easy to be conceived, but not so easy the insertion. Even the superiority of numbers is not decisive in the present case, as the error once admitted into two or three ancient manuscripts would be of course transmitted to all the subsequent copies, which were taken from them.

We find a remarkable instance, and well suited to the present purpose, in Matth. xxvii. 35. where the words between *κληρον* in the beginning of the verse, and *κληρον* at the end of the verse, namely, *ινα πληρωθη το ρηθην υπο τε προφητου, διμερισαντο τα ιματια μου, και επι τον ιματισμον μου εβαλον,*

<sup>4</sup> See the Orient. Bibl. Vol. VIII. p. 161 s.

<sup>5</sup> Orient. Bibl. Vol. II. p. 234, 236 s.



ἐλλοι, are omitted in 94 manuscripts quoted by Wettstein, to which we may add the four following, Codex Parrahsii, Lambecianus 29 and 30. and Carolinus, mentioned in Treschow's Tentamen descriptionis Codicum Vindobonensium. They are likewise omitted in the Complutum edition, whence we may conclude that the Spanish editors had found them in no Greek manuscript, as they have retained them in the Latin translation. Some other objections that are made to this passage may be found in Wettstein and Griesbach, who have rejected it from the text of their editions. On the other side of the question Bengel in his Adparatus Criticus, has quoted the authorities in favour of the passage in the following manner, a textu stant Er. Colb. 4. 8. Laud. 4. 5. L. Med. Mont. M. 1. 2. Par. 7. 8. Wheel. 1. Arm. Hebr. Latini aliqui, in his præstantissimus Trevirensis, nec non Hieronymus, Sax et diserte Eusebius ac sermo de passione apud Athanas. T. I. fol. 992. 1001. Here then, if numbers were to decide, no doubt could be made that the passage is spurious, but the singular circumstance that πληρον immediately precedes and immediately follows the omitted words, makes the authority of 12 manuscripts in their favour more than equal to the authority of 100 manuscripts, in which they are omitted. The omission of the words between πληρον and πληρον is a very natural accident in the hurry of transcribing, but the interposition of those words so as exactly to suit the context is much more difficult to be conceived, and for this very reason I am more inclined to the opinion of Bengel, that the passage is genuine. It cannot be an interpolation from the Gospel of St. John, where the quotation is differently introduced, ἡ γράφη πληρωθῇ ἢ λεγέσθαι, and the author of the quoted Psalm is in the present passage styled ὁ προφητης, the application of which title to the Psalmist is peculiar to St. Matthew. See Matth. xiii. 25. Whoever desires to examine other examples of this nature, may refer to Matth. xxviii. 9. and 1 John ii. 23. But we must be cautious of carrying this rule to the extreme, nor can we conclude that an homoioteleuton is alone sufficient to

render a text authentic, which we have solid reasons to condemn as spurious<sup>7</sup>. Many have defended on this principle 1 John v. 7. though the verse is rejected by every antient Greek manuscript, and absolutely inadmissible<sup>8</sup>.

Another cause of omission is, when the same letter, syllable, or word, is immediately repeated; where the transcriber may mistake the second instance for the first. An example of this kind is found in the Septuagint, 2 Kings xvii. 30. where instead of *την νεργιλ* (נֶרְגִּיל) is *την εργιλ*, and v. 31. for *την νεβλασερ* is *την εβλασερ*. The text of John v. 22. is *εδει γαρ ο πατηρ κρινει υδυνα, αλλα—κ. τ. λ.* which is quoted by Cyprian, who instead of *υδυνα, αλλα* has *εδειν, αλλα*, which gives a totally different sense to the whole passage. This mistake is extremely obvious, when we recollect that the antient Greeks wrote in capital letters, without points, and without any interval between the words, as ΟΥΔΕΝΑΑΑΑΑ. The Codex Magdalenensis, instead of *Κυριε Κυριε*, Matth. vii. 22. has *Κυριε* only once; and for *και αυτη, αυτη τη ωρα*, Luke ii. 38. several good manuscripts have *και αυτη τη ωρα*. Omissions of this kind are innumerable, and it is a matter of surprise, that in the following text, 1 Cor. i. 15, 16. *να μη τις ιπη οτι εις το εμον ονομα εβαπτισα. Εβαπτισα δε και του Στιφανα οικον*, no instance has been discovered among all the manuscripts of the omission of the second *εβαπτισα*. We might be tempted to lay down a general rule, that the full reading ought always to be preferred to the defective, where the same letter, syllable, or word, is repeated, unless it were counterbalanced by the probability of an opposite mistake, which may as easily be committed as the other.

This mistake is the writing twice a letter, syllable, or word, that in the original stood only once, whence many passages have lost all meaning, though in others a sense is still discoverable, and the alteration deserves in such cases a place among the various readings. An undeniable instance of the false repetition of a syllable may be produced from the Septuagint, Gen. viii. 5. where the true reading is *εν δε τη δεκατη μηνι*, but not only the Codex Alexan-

Alexandrinus, which from its inaccuracy is not entitled to the commendations bestowed on it, but even the edition of Aldus has *εν δε τῷ ενδεκατῷ μηνι*. For *Καπεριναυμ η*, Matth. xi. 23. several manuscripts have *Καπεριναυμ μην*, which exactly inverts the sense; and instead of *οχλος ακυσαντες*, John vii. 40. the Fragmentum Borgianum has *οχλος η ακυσαντες*?

Since therefore the transcribers might as easily fall into the mistake of repeating, as into that of omitting, it is difficult to give a general and positive rule with respect to this subject, and the decision must depend on the number and authenticity of the testimonies, or other accidental circumstances. In many cases it is almost impossible to decide; the common text of Luke vii. 21. is *εχαρισατο το βλεπειν*, for which 22 manuscripts quoted by Weiststein have *εχαρισατο βλεπειν*. These two readings, according to the antient manner of writing, were *ΕΧΑΡΙΣΑΤΟΤΟΒΛΕΠΕΙΝ* and *ΕΧΑΡΙΣΑΤΟΒΛΕΠΕΙΝ*, and as a considerable number of good manuscripts may be produced in favour of each, it is impossible to decide whether in the first instance the transcriber committed the mistake of repeating *το*, or whether in the second instance the transcriber omitted the second *το*, because *το* had preceded in the original.

Another cause, which sometimes leads a copyist into the error of inserting a word, especially an article, is when the arrangement of the words in the original differs from the common construction, which latter being familiar to him, he uses it in the copy, without attending to the difference in the manuscript, from which he transcribes. But as enough has been said on the subject of omissions and insertions, I will now examine the causes which might produce an unintentional exchange of letters, syllables, or words.

Words of a similar sound are easily exchanged for each other, an instance of which we find in the Codex Cantabrigiensis<sup>10</sup>, Rom. i. 30. where, instead of *καταλαλες* the transcriber has written *κακολαλες*, an error which arose from *κακοθημις* almost immediately preceding, and the

sound of  $\alpha\alpha\alpha$  being still in his ears. Mistakes of this nature were sometimes unavoidable from the ancient practice of dictating to several transcribers at the same time; it might happen even when the copyist transcribed immediately from the original, as it is not uncommon to repeat to ourselves the words which we read or write; and in printing, where it is not the custom to dictate, no error is more common.

A deviation from the original arises frequently from an accidental transposition. No man, in copying a work composed in a language which he understands, writes letter for letter, or word for word, but fixes in his memory sometimes a whole passage before he writes; and if the words are not bound by the rules of grammar to one particular arrangement, it is easy to fall into the error of a transposition. In such cases the number and authority of the manuscripts, or the nature of the subject itself, must determine the true reading: examples may indeed be given where the decision is difficult, but they are generally such as convey the same meaning, and therefore of no importance<sup>1</sup>.

No mistake arising from an exchange of letters is so common as that which is occasioned by the Itacism, and many of the various readings derived from this source are not only of consequence, but remain still undecided. I know not whether this error is as frequently discovered in the copies of profane authors, as I have never examined a manuscript of a classic writer with attention; but in many manuscripts of the New Testament and of the Septuagint it occurs incessantly. A variety of examples have been collected by Adler from the Roman manuscripts<sup>2</sup>, and instances may be seen even in the critical Greek notes, written in the margin of the Oxford manuscript of the Philoxenian version, published by White<sup>3</sup>. The Itacism is not only the common pronunciation of the modern Greeks<sup>4</sup>, but is probably more ancient than the

<sup>1</sup> See the Orient. Bibl. Vol. XVII. p. 131, 132<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> See the Orient. Bibl. Vol. XVI. p. 164—166. and Vol. XVIII. p. 173, 174<sup>13</sup>.

the oldest manuscript of the Greek Testament, or perhaps than that of any author now extant. So early as the age in which the New Testament was written we find traces of the Itacism, without which *χαῖρος* and *χρηρς* could never have been confounded<sup>15</sup>; an example of which we find in Suetonius, who has written *Judæos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit*<sup>16</sup>. But whether this pronunciation be really as antient as I suppose, or not, it is sufficient for our present purpose, that it is more antient than any of our manuscripts, of which the oldest, especially the Alexandrine, have faults that seem inexplicable on any other principle: and if traces of it are found in the most antient versions, such as the Syriac and the old Latin, it must have existed so early as the first century. Woide, in his preface to the Codex Alexandrinus, §. 33. derives these mutations from the Egyptian pronunciation, but I can see no reason for having recourse to this method of accounting for the origin of errors, which can be so naturally explained on the principle of the Itacism<sup>16</sup>. It is true that this might oftener happen in Egypt than in other countries, for the Egyptians, when they adopted a Greek word in their own language, exchanged *η* for *ι*, e. g. *σελιη* for *σεληνη*, luna<sup>17</sup>.

The greatest number of examples of the exchange of letters are so manifestly orthographical errors as to deserve not a place among the various readings, as *ηλειφεν* for *εληφεν* in the Codex Alexandrinus, 1 Cor. x. 13. which Mill has quoted, but Wettstein very properly rejected. Sometimes they convey a tolerable meaning, as *καιω μνημειω*, which is found in two manuscripts, and is the reading quoted by Chrysostom<sup>18</sup>, instead of *καινω μνημειω*, Matth. xxvii. 60. but no doubt can be made that *καινω* is the true reading, for it is confirmed by the coincidence of the antient versions, as well as by a plurality of manuscripts, and the mistake of *ε* for *αι* is common in many manuscripts. Instead of *ει θελει δεξασθαι*, Matth. xi. 14. the Syriac translator has rendered *ει θελει, δεξασθαι*, which

was.

<sup>15</sup> Claudius, cap. 25.<sup>16</sup> See Wettstein on Matth. xxvii. 60.

was undoubtedly an error in the manuscript, from which he translated.

In other places the manuscripts in favour of the different readings are more divided, and it is then difficult to determine which of the two is the error arising from the Itacism, unless particular circumstances of the context lead us to a conclusion. We find John xi. 54. ἰφραῖμ, ἰφραῖμ, and ἰφριμ. 1 Cor. iv. 2. ζῆλειαι and ζῆλει. Some of the manuscripts have 2 Cor. xii. 1. δῆ, others δει<sup>18</sup>. 1 Pet. ii. 3. χερσος, others χρισος, where the preceding verb εὐδοκασθαι determines the former to be the true reading. 1 John iv. 2. γνωσκετε, for which others have γνωσκεσθαι, where we have no ground for deciding which is the true reading. Rev. ii. 13. some have Αἰλιπας, others αἰλιπας<sup>19</sup>.

Instead of δε, Rom. ii. 17. a very considerable number of manuscripts have ι δε, which is likewise confirmed by several antient versions<sup>20</sup>. This variation occurs frequently, and among other instances in the Septuagint, Job xxxiv. 17. where the Hebrew original determines ι δε to be the true reading<sup>21</sup>, but in the above passage from the epistle to the Romans it is impossible to decide with any certainty. I have often wondered that the same variation has never occurred, Rom. ix. 22. but in that text ι δε has been found invariably in all the manuscripts. Another remarkable instance is that of υπολασσεσθαι and υπολασσεσθαι, Rom. ix. 22. in which passage there are three different readings which I will write in capitals, in order to avoid, what was not written in the antient manuscripts, the Iota subscriptum.

1. The common reading is ΔΙΟ ΑΝΑΓΚΗ ΥΠΟΤΑΣΣΕΘΑΙ.

2. Four codices latinizantes<sup>22</sup> have ΔΙΟ ΥΠΟΤΑΣΣΕΘΕ, a reading followed by Irenæus, Hilary, and the Gothic version.

3. The editio complutensis has ΔΙΟ ΑΝΑΓΚΗ ΥΠΟΤΑΣΣΕΣΘΕ, with which the Vulgate agrees, where we find ideo necessitate subditi estote, which might be given in better Latin ideo necessitati parete.

This example I shall have occasion to mention again  
in

in speaking of compound readings, and shall only observe at present, that it is difficult to determine which is the true reading, unless we chuse to be guided by a majority of manuscripts. Properly speaking, there are only two fundamental readings in this passage, *διο αναγνη υποτασσεισθαι*, and *διο υποτασσεισθι*, the third being compounded of both. The two first are Itacisms, and yet more antient than the time of Hilary, of the author of the Gothic version, and probably of Irenæus, which I will not positively affirm, as the construction in Irenæus might have come from his Latin translator. If the first and common reading is the genuine, it is probable that the reading of the four latinizing manuscripts arose from the error of mistaking *υποτασσεισθι* for *υποτασσεισθαι*, and then leaving out *αναγνη*, as difficult to be construed with the former. If the second reading be the genuine, the first arose from mistaking *υποτασσεισθαι* for *υποτασσεισθι*, and then admitting *αναγνη* into the text as a scholion necessary to render the construction complete. It is true that the majority of manuscripts, as well as the Syriac, Coptic, and Arabic versions, are in favour of the common reading; but as the mistake was easily committed, I am rather inclined to abide by the authority of the Latin version<sup>22</sup>, and four antient latinizing manuscripts, in regard to a reading in the epistle to the Romans. I hope no reader will be displeased with this example, as he may learn from it this useful lesson, that it is often highly necessary to doubt.

Orthographical errors very frequently arise from confounding O and Ω, of which many examples have been produced from the Roman manuscripts<sup>23</sup>. Even in the critical Greek notes, written in the margin of the Syriac version of Philoxenus, this fault occurs frequently, at least in the Oxford manuscript, though other copies are said to be more correct<sup>24</sup>. This simple exchange has  
given

<sup>22</sup> See the Orient. Bibl. Vol. XVII. p. 131, 132<sup>24</sup>.

<sup>23</sup> See the Orient. Bibl. Vol. XVI. p. 164, 165, and Vol. XVIII. p. 173, 174<sup>25</sup>.



given birth to doubtful readings, on which the critics are unable to decide, an instance of which is *μετα διωγμων*, and *μετα διωγμων*, Mark x. 30. but Weiststein has given the preference to the former.

Letters, that have no similarity in sound, may be exchanged for each other, if they have only a similar figure, as A, Λ and Δ,—O and Θ,—C and Ε. Montfaucon, in his *Prolegomena* to the Hexapla, c. iv. §. 7. has produced many examples from the Septuagint, to which, as he has alleged no instance of a confusion between Λ and Δ, I will add that of ΟΥΛ for ΟΥΔ, 1 Chron. i. 17<sup>26</sup>. The following is a very remarkable instance from Ptolemy's Geography. The same city, which in his map of Arabia is called Lathrippa, we find written, p. 155. ΛΑΟΡΙΠΠΑ<sup>27</sup>, an evident mistake for ΛΑΘΡΙΠΠΑ<sup>28</sup>. Errors of this kind are occasioned especially by the strokes being faded: of this we find an instance 1 Tim. iii. 16. a text of great importance in the present disputes. Velthusen, in his *Observations on Various Subjects*<sup>29</sup>, has remarked in regard to this passage, that it is extremely difficult, and sometimes impossible, to distinguish in the Codex Alexandrinus Θ from Ο. Again, if one half of Ο is faded, it may be mistaken for C or Ε, on the other hand a C, or Ε, in which the middle stroke is faded, may be taken for an half-faded Ο. Even where the letters are still fresh, they may be easily confounded in the hurry of reading, and an accident of this kind having happened to me a few days ago, I will mention it as suitable to the present purpose. Professor Koppe sent me a Programma, which he had lately written, entitled Ο ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΜΑΡΤΙΑΣ, but on the first view of the title-page, instead of reading ο ανθρωπος, I began to read Θανθρωπος, and the same mistake which I committed in the hurry of reading, might happen to a transcriber of the New Testament in the hurry of writing. But

<sup>26</sup> According to its derivation it ought to be written ΙΑΘΡΙΠΠΑ, as it comes from the Arabic يتريب.

<sup>27</sup> See the Orient. Bibl. Vol. VI. p. 83<sup>28</sup>.

But various readings, arising from the exchange of similar letters, especially A and Δ, I have found more frequently in the Septuagint than in the Greek Testament.

Beside the letters above-mentioned, there are others which may be easily exchanged, especially when one or more of the strokes are obliterated, for instance, M for ΛΛ, or ΑΛ. In the apocryphal book of Ezra, ch. v. 34. מִן בְּנֵי אֱמֹנִי should be translated ΤΙΟΙ ΑΜΩΝ, instead of which most of the editions have ΤΙΟΙ ΑΛΛΩΝ, and the Alexandrine manuscript ΤΙΟΙ ΑΔΔΩΝ<sup>29</sup>. In the same manner I have observed ΑΜΑ and ΑΛΛΑ exchanged for each other in the New Testament. And Dr. Lesh has found examples, where it was difficult to distinguish Β from Κ, and Η from Ν, on account of the cross strokes being faded<sup>b</sup>.

Whoever would acquire a facility in judging of those various readings, which arise from an exchange of letters, must first obtain a readiness of representing to himself the words as written in capitals; for though a resemblance between the smaller letters, such as ν and υ, α and β, occasions very frequently errata in printing, they are too modern to have been the cause of various readings, and in those passages of the later manuscripts, in which examples may be found, they are easily observed to be orthographical errors. It is of great advantage therefore to a critic in the Greek Testament, and in Greek literature in general, to read, and extract from the ancient manuscripts, and inscriptions that are written in capitals; which will better enable him to form an accurate judgment of the origin and goodness of a reading, than any method whatsoever. The late Gesner has related a very excellent practice, and worthy of imitation, adopted by the master of the school in which he was educated, whose custom it was to write sentences from the Greek authors in capital letters, without any interval between the words, to be read and decyphered by his scholars. It is universally known how well the trial succeeded with Gesner, and if the masters of other grammar schools would act

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<sup>b</sup> See the Orient. Bibl. Vol. IX. p. 144, 145<sup>30</sup>.

as judiciously, the world might have reason to expect another Gesner. Those who have no opportunity of studying the antient manuscripts, may derive nearly the same benefit from reading frequently and attentively the Codex Alexandrinus published by Woide<sup>31</sup>. Without exercise and experience of this nature, our attempts to analyse a doubtful passage will be always irksome, and commonly fruitless. A man accustomed only to the Greek letters in modern use, has no other resource than to write the passage in capitals, but here the very pains that are requisite before he can begin his enquiry, are often sufficient to defeat its very end. For it is an undeniable fact, that when a writing is presented to be read, and at the same time a word is pointed out that seems illegible, with a request to explain it as a matter of importance, the reader will be more perplexed in discovering its meaning, than if he had read the whole passage without previous information of the difficulty. His whole attention being occupied with the word in question, it is diverted from the context, which alone can lead to a discovery.

Synonymous words are often exchanged by a transcriber, who fixing the sense of a whole passage in his memory before he commits it to writing, substitutes the word that first occurs to him, instead of the word in the original. This mistake happens frequently in printing, and I have seen examples, in which the word inserted by the compositor by mistake, was as suitable to the purpose, as that used by the author. We find an instance of this exchange Rev. xvii. 17. where for *τελεισθη τα ρηματα*, seven manuscripts quoted by Wetstein have *τελεισθησονται οι λογοι*<sup>32</sup>, and seven others, which he has likewise quoted, *τελεισθωσιν οι λογοι*, the reading of the Wolfenbüttel manuscript collated by Knittel<sup>33</sup>. More examples may be seen in my father's *Tractatio Critica*, p. 11. Various readings, arising from the exchange of synonymous words, must be distinguished from those, which are occasioned by intruding marginal notes into the text; but it is sometimes difficult to determine to which

which of these two causes a reading is to be ascribed, e. g. 1 Pet. iii. 13. μιμηται, where others have ζηλωται. If the exchange of synonymous words occurred too often in any work, it might create suspicion that it was not an original, but a translation, and that the same text had been differently rendered by different translators. This argument, which proves the Latin Testament to be only a version, affects not the Greek Testament, as it is applicable not to whole books, but only to detached passages. But with respect to the readings κατεβαινεν and ελθειν<sup>34</sup>, John v. 4. it is so difficult to comprehend how a transcriber could possibly exchange the one for the other, that the whole verse, which in other respects is very suspicious, seems nothing more than a translation of a marginal note, originally written in some other language than Greek<sup>c</sup>.

Another exchange of words may arise from a transcriber's using that which was common in the age in which he wrote, instead of the antient word used when the original was written. Of this kind πρωτομαρτυρος seems to be an instance, which is found in several manuscripts for μαρτυρος, Acts xxii. 20. πρωτομαρτυρ being the title which was afterwards given to Stephen by the Christian church. St. Paul at least could not have given him that title on his return to Jerusalem after his conversion, because Stephen was at that time not the first, but the only martyr for the Christian religion; besides, if μαρτυρ be taken in its proper sense, that of witness, Stephen could not be called the first witness to the truth of Christianity.

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S E C T. IX.

*Second Cause. Mistakes of the transcribers in regard to the true text of the original.*

**M**ISTAKES arising from a false division of words, such as ου κερεις for ουκ ερεις, in the present Göttingen, formerly Miffy manuscript, belong not properly to

<sup>c</sup> Orient. Bibl. Vol. III. p. 18—20<sup>35</sup>.

to this chapter, not being considered as various readings, because the division of the letters of the New Testament into words, with intervals between them, is too modern to admit the errors, which might result from it, into that collection. The preference is here determined not by the majority of manuscripts, but the rules of interpretation; and the subject will be considered in a separate chapter toward the close of the next volume.

But an ample source of various readings is the mistaking the notes of abbreviation, which are very frequently used in the antient manuscripts, as  $\overline{\Theta C}$  for  $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\overline{K C}$  for  $K\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\overline{v c}$  for  $v\iota\omicron\varsigma$ , &c.<sup>1</sup> To form an adequate judgment of mistakes of this nature, it is necessary to be conversant with those manuscripts in which these abbreviations are actually used, and not, as some critics have done, make hypotheses for ourselves, that such and such abbreviations might have been used, in order to support a critical conjecture. The Prolegomena of Wetstein, p. iii. § 7. may be consulted on this subject, and I have quoted a remarkable instance of an abuse of this kind, made even by Grotius<sup>2</sup>, in my Exposition of the first book of the Maccabees, ch. xiv. 35. On the other hand, where it is certain that two different readings arose from a false interpretation of a mark of abbreviation, we are easily led to a decision of the true reading by the abbreviation itself. For instance, several manuscripts have  $\tau\omega\ \kappa\alpha\iota\rho\omega\ \delta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  for  $\tau\omega\ K\upsilon\rho\iota\omega\ \delta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ , Rom. xii. 11. where setting aside other arguments alleged by Wetstein in favour of the latter reading, we may be convinced that it is genuine, by the very circumstance that gave rise to the former. The manuscripts in general, and that of Gottingen in particular, abbreviate very frequently  $K\upsilon\rho\iota\omega$  into  $K\overline{c}$ , which might be mistaken by a later transcriber for an abbreviation of  $\kappa\alpha\iota\rho\omega$ , which he would therefore write in the copy that he was taking:  $\kappa\alpha\iota\rho\omega$ , on the contrary, was written at length in the antient manuscripts, which a transcriber would hardly mistake for  $K\upsilon\rho\iota\omega$ . Hence we may conclude, that  $\kappa\alpha\iota\rho\omega$  is the false reading,

reading, because this might arise through error from Κυριω, not Κυριω from καιρω. Those who would take the trouble of noting the different marks of abbreviation, in reading an antient manuscript of the Greek Testament, as Knittel has done in his commentary on Ulphilas, would be entitled to the thanks of the public, and still more, whoever would submit to the labour of collecting and forming them into a general index. Griesbach is of opinion that many abbreviations, at present unknown, and more difficult than those which are now extant, were common in the five first centuries, and the sources of many of our false readings. But this opinion is not grounded on historical evidence, and the arguments alleged in its support are not sufficiently convincing. The design of this hypothesis is to account for certain readings, which may be explained (without having recourse to supposed abbreviations) from the letters being effaced, which the copyist endeavoured to supply by false conjectures<sup>1</sup>.

Another source of false readings is a transcriber's mistaking a marginal note for a part of the text: for having observed that an omission in the text, or a passage wrongly written, was sometimes supplied or corrected in the margin, he falsely concluded that every word, which he saw before him, must be admitted into the body of the work, which he was then writing. It was not unusual, in the antient manuscripts, to write in the margin an explanation of a difficult passage, or a word synonymous to that in the text, but more usual and more easily understood, or with the intent of supplying a seeming deficiency; any or all of which might in the copies taken from the manuscript, in which these notes were written, be easily obtruded on the text itself. The two following are examples of this kind, and the readings being found only in single manuscripts, no doubt can be made of their being errors. We find, Mark xi. 10. ευλογημενη η ερχομενη βασιλεια εν ονοματι Κυριου, τε πατρος ημων Δαβιδ, where it is evident that βασιλεια must be understood before τε πατρος ημων. This ellipsis might naturally be noted

in the margin, with a mark of reference before *τὸ πατὸς*, and it is probable that the manuscript, which takes its name from Lord Winchelsea, was written by a copyist, who had a manuscript in his possession with this very marginal note, which he has falsely inserted in the text, *εὐλογημένη ἡ ἐρχομένη βασιλεία ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου, ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν* <sup>4</sup>. In the epistle to the Romans, ch. viii. 20. is used the word *ματαιότητι*, for which the Codex Vindobonensis 34. has *ψθόρα*, which is synonymous indeed to *ματαιότητι*, but St. Paul using *φθόρα* in the following verse, seems to have studied variety, in using two different words for the same subject. Now the origin of *φθόρα* can be explained in no other manner, than by supposing it to have been written as synonymous to *ματαιότητι* in the margin of some antient manuscript, from which the Codex Vindobonensis 34. was transcribed. This same manuscript has in several places an explanation of a word, as well as the word itself, for instance, Rom. xii. 7. of *διακονίαν* . . . . *τὸ κηρυγμῶν*, ch. xvi. 19. of *ἀγαθόν* . . . *ἡ πίστις*: these have the appearance of various readings, but are in fact only glosses inserted in the text. See Treschow's *Tentamen Descriptionis Codicum Vindobonensium* <sup>5</sup>, p. 68.

No source of various readings is so productive as the present, and none so frequently mentioned by the critics: but as their opinions are widely different, and what appears a manifest scholion to some, is taken by others for the genuine reading, it may be useful to enumerate some of the principal examples, which I have collected since the publication of the third edition of this work. On a subject of doubtful criticism, I cannot expect that all my readers should be of the same sentiments with myself, but in those instances where they subscribe to my opinion, they will observe how seducing the false reading is, and how necessary to be distinguished from the true; and their attention will by these means be excited to the discovery of other scholia, which have insensibly crept into the text of the New Testament.

Mark ii. 14. for *Λεβὶν τὸν τῶν Αλφαιῶν*, three manuscripts,  
quoted



quoted by Wettstein, and several so antient as the time of Origen, with the Latin Codex Veronensis, and Vercellensis, have *Ιακωβον τον τε Αλφαιου*. Now no transcriber could copy *Ιακωβον* by mistake for *Λευιν*, but it is possible, and even probable, that some one had written *Ιακωβον*, as a marginal note opposite to *Λευιν*, in consequence of having found the name of James among the sons of Alphæus, Matth. xiii. 55. and supposing him to be the same person as Levi, a name which is there omitted<sup>6</sup>.

Mark viii. 24. *οτι ως δειδρα ορω περιπατηντας* seems to me to be a scholion, or explanation of the text. But many editors of the New Testament have been of a different opinion, and Mill held it to be the best reading<sup>7</sup>.

Luke xxiii. 45. *και εσκοτισθη ο ηλιος* is an antient and celebrated example. Instead of this reading, which expresses the darkening of the sun by the intervention of thick clouds, the eighth Codex Stephani, and seven Lectionaria, quoted by Wettstein, have *εκλειποντος τε ηλιου*, a phrase which is never applied but to an actual eclipse of the sun, an event that could not possibly have happened at the time of the crucifixion. This alteration had taken place in some of the manuscripts so early as the time of Origen, who in his commentary on Matthew xxvii. 45. has the following observation, forsitan ausus est aliquis, quasi manifestius<sup>d</sup> aliquid dicere volens, pro 'et obscuratus est sol' ponere 'deficiente sole,' existimans quod non aliter fieri potuissent tenebræ, nisi sole deficiente.

Acts i. 12. after *σαββατω εδον*, the third Codex Petavianus has *τεσσερον εν το διαστημα, οσον δυνατον Ιουδαιον περιπαλειν εν σαββατω*, and as this reading is found in no other manuscript, no doubt can be made of its being a scholion.

Rom. v. 18. *δι' ενος παραπτωματος* may be translated either, 'by the fall of one,' or 'by one fall.' The reading of this text in some manuscripts is *δι ενος το παραπτωμα*, and in one single manuscript *δι' ενος ανθρωπου το παραπτωμα*, which seem to be different scholia intended to determine a construction, which admits of a two-fold explanation<sup>8</sup>.

Rom.

<sup>d</sup> It appears therefore that *εκλειποντος τε ηλιου* is a scholion.

Rom. viii. 28. Πάντα συνεργεῖ εἰς ἀγαθόν. The common translation is omnia operantur ad bonum, but the words admit of a different translation, which is given by the Syriac translator, who has rendered them 'God conducts all things to the best end.' And the Codex Alexandrinus instead of συνεργεῖ εἰς ἀγαθόν, has συνεργεῖ ὁ Θεὸς εἰς ἀγαθόν, but as this is the only manuscript in which that reading is found, it proceeds undoubtedly from the explanation of a scholiast, who preferred the construction of the Syriac translator, and noted it in the margin.

Rom. x. 1. the common reading is ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, but that of the most antient versions, and of our oldest manuscripts, as well as the manuscript quoted by Origen, is ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. Our present reading therefore is false, and must have proceeded from a marginal note.

1 Cor. xvi. 2. after ἀναθεῖσθαι is added in one of the manuscripts used by Beza\* τὴν κυριακὴν. Here the suspicion that the words inserted arose from a marginal note is confirmed by matter of fact, for Wetstein's Codex 46, the same with the Codex Petavianus 3, has τὴν κυριακὴν in the margin.

2 Cor. viii. 4. δεξασθαι ἡμᾶς is clearly a scholion that has crept into the best of our editions; and the sense of the passage is as intelligible without it, if the fourth and fifth verses be only properly connected, and χάριν referred to εἰδοὺς<sup>9</sup>. The authorities which Wetstein has quoted in favour of its omission are very important, and even so late as the beginning of the twelfth century it had found no admission into the text; for Theophylact endeavours to explain the passage by means of an ellipsis, saying λοιπὸν το, παρκαλῶν ἡμᾶς ἀναδεξασθαι τὴν διακονίαν ταύτην, no manuscripts therefore were known to him which had ἀναδεξασθαι, or, according to the present reading, δεξασθαι<sup>10</sup>. The passage being considered as elliptical, it was natural to note the ellipsis in the margin, which later copyists have intruded into the text. Bengel relates that it was found in two manuscripts by Beza, but of these we have  
no

\* In his note to this passage, he says, in uno vetusto codice additum legi τὴν κυριακὴν, ad hoc videlicet explicandum.

no knowledge, and with respect to the others which he has quoted, they are not only manuscripts devoid of authority, but Bengel is himself uncertain whether they contain it. The Russian translation expresses *sumere vobis*, but we cannot therefore conclude the old Slavonian translator found them in his Greek original, for like Theophylact, he has probably followed the example of Chrysostom in supplying an ellipsis<sup>f</sup>, at a time when it made no part of the Greek text<sup>f</sup>. Yet this spurious and modern scholion is permitted to have a place in our common editions.

1 Pet. ii. 13. *πασῇ ἀνθρώπινη κτίσει*, which is translated ‘to every ordinance of man,’ has been taken by several and by the Syriac translator in particular, in the sense of ‘the whole human creation,’ or ‘every human being.’ The reading therefore *πασῇ ἀνθρώπινη φύσει*, which is found only in the Codex Covell. 2. is the scholion of an antient commentator who took it in the latter sense.

For *χρῖσμα*, 1 John ii. 27. the Codex Covell. 2. with the Coptic and Æthiopic versions, have *πνεῦμα*, which we have the more reason to believe to be the result of a scholion, as Wetstein found in two other manuscripts *χρῖσμα τοῦ πνεύματος*, written in the margin.

1 John iv. 3. the common reading is *ὁ μὴ ὁμολογεῖ*, for which there is a different reading of great importance *ὁ λυεῖ*: most critics agree in supposing one of them to be a scholion, but they are not unanimous in their choice. Now the words *ὁ λυεῖ τὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν* admit of two senses; 1. ‘He who divides Jesus Christ in the same manner as Cerinthus, who made a distinction between Jesus and Christ, saying that he was an Æon of the first order that was united with the man Jesus at the time of his baptism, and separated from him before his crucifixion.’ This sense is admirably adapted to the design of the Apostle. 2. ‘He who denies Jesus Christ.’ An antient commentator, who took it in the latter sense, might naturally write in the margin *μὴ ὁμολογεῖ*, as synonymous to *λυεῖ*, which explanation has been adopted in the text. On the other hand, if *μὴ ὁμολογεῖ* be the antient reading, *λυεῖ* is a very

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<sup>f</sup> Vide Chrysostomi Opera, Tom. X. p. 555.

extraordinary scholium, as it is more obscure than the word to be explained <sup>12</sup>.

In the same manner two distinct readings have been sometimes joined together by mistake, as if they made only a single reading. For instance, a transcriber finds in his original two synonymous expressions, one in the text, the other in the margin, and supposing that they belong to each other, copies both; or, he has two manuscripts with different readings, and not being able to determine which is the best, copies them both, that neither may be lost. Not only synonymous, but other readings have been compounded in this manner, of which we find an example, Rom. xiii. 5. mentioned in the preceding section, namely,

1. *διο αναγκη υποτασσεσθαι*

2. *διο υποτασσεσθε*

3. *διο αναγκη υποτασσεσθε*, which is a composition of the two first. The two principal readings, Rev. iv. 3. are *ομοια ορασις σμαραγδινω* <sup>13</sup> and *ομοιος ορασει σμαραγδινω*, from which a third has been compounded *ομοιος ορασις σμαραγδινω* in the Wolfenbüttel manuscript <sup>14</sup> collated by Knittel. The same manuscript, Rev. xix. 20. has *ο μελα τετε*, which arose from confounding *ο μετ' αυτε*, a various reading, and *μετα τετε*, the common reading <sup>15</sup>. Rev. xx. 14. is *ετος εστιν ο δευτερος θανατος*, to which in some manuscripts the following words are added, *η λιμνη τε πυρος*, but the Wolfenbüttel manuscript has *ετος ο δευτερος εστιν λιμνη τε πυρος*. The same manuscript, Rev. xxii. 5. has *ε χρειαν λυχνε*, which is taken partly from the reading preferred by Bengel *ε χρεια λυχνε*, partly from the common reading *χρειαν εχ εχσι λυχνε*. This manuscript, Rev. xiv. 14. has *καθημενον ομοιος*, which is again taken from the various reading *καθημενον ομοιον*, and the common reading *καθημενος ομοιος*. The Codex Alexandrinus, Dan. xi. 45. has *εως μερες, ορες*, one of which words was probably at first only a marginal note <sup>16</sup>.

Compositions of this nature have sometimes given birth

<sup>12</sup> Another example, taken from Luke xvi. 8. may be seen in Knittel's New Criticisms on 1 John v. 7, p. 376 <sup>16</sup>.

birth to readings, which though false are intelligible, and not unsuitable to the passage in which they are found; at other times they have produced expressions, which are absurd, and manifest errors. Yet a careful selection of these latter readings might be attended with advantage, partly because it would enable us to account for errors in other passages, where they are less conspicuous, partly because a valuable reading lies sometimes concealed in these abortive expressions<sup>a</sup>.

Knittel in his Commentary on a Fragment of Ulphilas<sup>17</sup>, § 137. goes a step farther, and supposes that letters written in the margin of a manuscript, to denote numbers, might occasion various readings. The Codex Cantabrigiensis has πνευμα θεσ καταβαινοντα, instead of πνευμα θεσ καταβαινον, Matth. iii. 16. for which he accounts by supposing that KATABAINON stood at the end of the line in the antient manuscript from which the Codex Cantabrigiensis was copied, that in the margin not far from the last letter N, the letter A stood to denote a number in reference to the Harmony of Eusebius, and that the transcriber, mistaking it for part of the adjoining word, supplied T in order to make it complete. The opinion of Knittel is worthy of notice, because the principle is new, and may hereafter be applied with success in the investigation of various readings; but in regard to the present instance Wetstein's method of accounting for it seems to be the most probable<sup>18</sup>.

False readings are frequently occasioned in manuscripts, as well as in printed books, by correcting an error in the  
wrong

<sup>a</sup> See Wetstein's remarks on μετα ταυτα, the reading of the Codex Sangermanensis, 1 Cor. xv. 5. in the Prologomena to the second part of his Greek Testament, p. 7. and the Orient. Bibl. Vol. XVII. p. 148. where two similar errors are produced from the Borgian Fragment, namely, και η υπαγω, John viii. 14. which is formed from the two readings, και ως υπαγω, and η ως υπαγω, and v. 16. αλλ' εγω αληθινη και ο πατερ με πατηρ, where the insertion of αληθινη arose from this circumstance, that in the clause immediately preceding some of the MSS. have αληθινη for αληθης, and the intended correction was in this MS. inserted in a wrong place.

wrong place<sup>1</sup>. Bengel, in his apparatus criticus, p. 383. (or 15, 16 of the second edition) has mentioned several instances, one of which is taken from the Augsburg manuscript of the Gospels, No. 1. The writer of this manuscript has written *eu* for *ei*, Luke xiv. 10. an error which either the copyist, or some other person, seems to have been willing to correct, but has unfortunately corrected in the wrong place; for instead of changing into *ei* the last letter of the word to be corrected, he has altered the word *αντικαλεσωσι* in the twelfth verse into *αντικαλεσωσοι*. The example mentioned by Knittel, p. 274. of his commentary on Ulphilas, is still more conspicuous. The writer of the Wolfenbüttel manuscript, instead of *φοβος*, Luke i. 12. had written *βοβος*, this error it was the intention of some one to correct, but instead of altering the first *β*, he has changed the second *β* into *φ*, and made *βοφος*. These are manifest orthographical errors, but if a false correction gives birth to an intelligible word, it is ranked among the various readings. Examples of this kind may be seen in my *Curæ in Actus Apostolorum Syriacos*, § viii. p. 86, 87. 96. in the remarks on Acts iii. 10. vii. 29, 30. where it is uncertain whether the mistake is to be ascribed to the Syriac version, or to the Greek manuscript, from which that version was taken. In the same manner *οτι*, which is found Mark xii. 29. is omitted in that verse by the Syriac translator, and falsely inserted in the following<sup>20</sup>.

Interpolations of a greater length are occasioned sometimes in the following manner. The owner of a manuscript makes a note in the margin, either explanatory of some narration in the text, or containing an account of some event that was handed down by tradition, which manuscript being afterwards transcribed, the copyist writes text and notes without distinction in the body of his

<sup>1</sup> To illustrate this by an instance, let us suppose that a compositor instead of *Ægypti* had set *Ægipti*, and being informed that *i* must be altered to *y*, makes the alteration in the wrong place, and converts the word into *Ægipty*. An example of this kind in an Hebrew manuscript may be seen in the *Orient. Bibl.* Vol. I. p. 240<sup>19</sup>.

his work. I am persuaded that John v. 4. a very suspicious passage, and omitted in a very great number of manuscripts, has been intruded in this manner into our present text, and that this scholion was written originally not in Greek, but in some Oriental language<sup>k</sup>.

The most evident and most important example of this kind, is the long but beautiful passage found in some of the manuscripts quoted by Wetstein immediately after the twenty-eighth verse of the twentieth chapter of St. Matthew. It deserves to be examined particularly in an Introduction to the New Testament, as it is in general neglected by the commentators, and lies not within the province of a collector of various readings<sup>22</sup>. In the Codex Cantabrigiensis the passage is as follows, υμεις δε ζηειτε εκ μικρα<sup>l</sup> αυξησαι, και εκ μειζονος ελαττον ειναι. Εισερχομενοι δε και παρακληθεντες δειπνησαι μη ανακλεινεσθαι<sup>m</sup> εις τας εξεχοντας τοπους, μηποτε ενδοξοτερος σε επελθη και προσελθων ο δειπνοκλητωρ<sup>n</sup> ειπη σοι, ει κατω χωρει, και καλαισχυνηση. Εαν δε αναπεσης εις τον ηττονα τοπον, και επελθη σε ηττον<sup>n</sup>, ερει σοι ο δειπνοκλητωρ συναγε<sup>o</sup> εις τα ανω, και εσαι σοι τωλο χρησιμον. This passage was certainly not written by St. Matthew, for, not to mention the impossibility that so long a paragraph could be omitted by almost all the transcribers, the style is essentially different from that of the Evangelist, or any other writer of the New Testament.

<sup>k</sup> See the Orient. Bibl. Vol. III. p. 16—20. where I fully accede to the opinion of Dr. Sempler, who contends that this passage is spurious<sup>21</sup>.

<sup>l</sup> An evident mistake for μικρα, occasioned by the Itacism.

<sup>m</sup> It is probable that this is an error arising from the same cause, and that it ought to be ανακλεινεσθαι. But the word, as it stands at present, is still intelligible, as the Greeks frequently used the Infinitive to express a moral command. See Democratis sententia aurea 7. et 39. and Rom. xii. 15<sup>23</sup>.

<sup>n</sup> This word, though unusual, and wanting in some of the oldest Greek Lexicons, is perfectly good Greek, and is quoted by Athenæus from Artemidorus.

<sup>o</sup> A manifest erratum for ηττων.

<sup>p</sup> Collige, seu contrahe membra tua.



ment. The expressions *ἐκ μείζονος ελαττον ειναι, ἐξείχων τοπος, καὶ χωρεῖ, συναγε εἰς τὰ ἀνω*, and the pure though unusual word *δειπνοκλήτωρ*, are no where used in the New Testament. It cannot have been inserted from the fourteenth chapter of St. Luke, for the expressions which he has used are totally different, nor has the context of the two Gospels in this place the least similarity. But as the parable of the highest and lowest seats at table was almost proverbial among the Jews, it is probable that Christ had introduced it on more occasions, than that which is recorded by St. Luke. Some one of these examples, preserved by oral tradition, might have been written in the margin of a manuscript in the early ages of Christianity, and afterwards inserted in the text of the few remaining copies that contain it. The circumstance of its style being different from that of the New Testament, and its being chiefly admitted into the Latin versions, make it probable that the author of this interpolated passage was a native or inhabitant of the West.

It has been generally supposed that the paragraph was first inserted in the Latin versions, and afterwards translated into Greek. To this opinion I subscribed in the two first editions of this Introduction, but at present I am persuaded that it was written originally in Greek. Were the Latin the original, we should hardly find two different Latin texts, and the passage, as it stands in the Latin version of the Codex Cantabrigiensis, is so dissimilar to that which is found in other manuscripts<sup>24</sup>, that they are clearly distinct translations of a Greek original<sup>25</sup>. I will place them in two columns, opposite to each other, that the reader may more easily determine.

## Codex Cantab.

Vos autem quæritis de minimo crescere, et de magno minui, Introeuntes autem et rogati cœnare, ne discubueritis in eminentibus locis, ne forte dignior te superveniat, et accedens cœnæ invitator dicat tibi, adhuc deorsum accede, et confundaris. Si autem discubueris in minimum locum, et superveniat minor te, dicittibi invitator cœnæ, collige adhuc superius et erit tibi hoc utile.

## Codd. alii MSS.

Vos autem quæritis de pusillo crescere et de majore minores esse. Intrantes autem et rogati ad cœnam nolite discumbere in locis eminentibus, ne forte clarior te superveniat, et accedens qui ad cœnam vocavit te dicat tibi, adhuc deorsum accede, et confundaris. Si autem in loco inferiore discubueris, et superveniat humilior te, dicet tibi qui te ad cœnam vocavit accede adhuc sursum, et erit tibi hoc utilius.

The bare perusal is sufficient to shew that these are two different translations of a Greek original. The literal, anxious, and yet different manner in which *δειπνοκλητωρ* is rendered, the use of cœnæ invitator, a phrase which no Latin author would have chosen in writing his own thoughts, and the mistake of quæritis for quærite, from the supposition that *ζητεῖτε* was the indicative, by which the sense is rendered obscure, are circumstances which tend to confirm the truth of this opinion.

## S E C T. X.

*Third Cause. Errors or imperfections in the antient manuscript, from which a transcriber copied.*

**I**N the two preceding sections the mistakes have been examined, which are to be ascribed to the copyists alone; but there are cases in which the antient manuscript itself, from which a transcriber copied, might lead him into error. Beside the mistakes arising from the strokes of certain letters being faded or erased, others of

a contrary nature may arise from the transparency of the paper or vellum, whence the stroke of a letter on one side of the leaf may seem to be a part of a letter on the other side of the leaf, and in this manner O may be taken for Θ. According to Wetstein, this very accident happened to Mill, in examining the celebrated passage, 1 Tim. iii. 16. in the Codex Alexandrinus. Mill had asserted, in regard to the OC in this manuscript, that some remains of a stroke were still visible in the middle of the omicron, and concluded therefore that the word was properly ΘC. But Wetstein, who examined this manuscript more accurately, could discover no trace of any stroke in the omicron, but took notice of a circumstance which he supposes led Mill into error. On the other side of the leaf, directly opposite to O is the letter Ε, in the word ΕΥΕΒΕΙΑ, the middle stroke of which is visible on the former side, and occupies the hollow of Θ. Wetstein having made the discovery, called several persons to witness, who confirmed the truth of it<sup>a</sup>. Velthusen, on the other hand, who again inspected the passage, has made several objections to Wetstein's account in his *Observations on Various Subjects*, p. 84, 85. which the reader may consult and examine<sup>a</sup>. I must confess that some of Velthusen's arguments I do not fully comprehend, or if I rightly understand them, they are not in favour of the author.

Mistakes of a similar nature may arise from the ancient practice of stamping or burning into the vellum certain letters with types cut for that purpose; the impression produced a prominence on the other side of the leaf, which in later times may be taken for a half-faded stroke; this is the case with the Codex Argenteus, and Junius, in decyphering it, was frequently led into error by this very circumstance<sup>p</sup>.

The obliteration of strokes, and the transparency of the paper or vellum, seem to be such fruitful sources of error,

<sup>p</sup> See Wetstein's *Prologomena*, p. 19—22. Thre's *Préface* to his *Uphilas Illustratus*, or the *Gottingen Relationes de libris novis*, Fasc. II. p. 394. III. p. 57<sup>3</sup>.

error, that the moderate number of various readings in the New Testament, occasioned by an exchange of €̄, C, Θ̄, O, for each other, is really a matter of surprise. For though the line drawn over Θ̄C would clearly determine it to be an abbreviation of Θεός, even were the middle stroke of Θ̄ effaced, yet there are numberless examples where no such criterion is used for determining the true reading, and even this stroke may be obliterated by time. In cases, where the error was of such a nature as to give birth to a word that had no existence in the Greek language, a transcriber, who understood what he wrote, would supply in his copy the deficiency of his original; but if the erroneous reading were intelligible, as well as the genuine, it might be extremely difficult to decide. Woide, Lefs and Griesbach have all three examined the Codex Ephrem in Paris, to determine whether the reading of 1 Tim. iii. 16. in that manuscript be ος or Θεός, and all three differed in their accounts, but Dr. Lefs in particular declared, that what he could discover led to no decision<sup>1</sup>. It is certainly of importance in passages like these to decide on the true reading, and determine whether a stroke, on which so much depends, existed originally, or not. But unfortunately these very passages are the most exposed to the danger of being effaced, as they are examined not only by men of real learning, who would make a critical use of their discoveries, but by those who have no other object than to gratify curiosity; and as this is seldom satisfied with an examination of the eye, but must likewise apply the finger to the doubtful letter, it is no wonder that what is visible in one period should be invisible in another. The alteration which may be made in fifty years is so great, that the remnant of Θ̄ in the Codex Alexandrinus, which Wetstein was unable to discover, might have been seen by Mill. The upper part of the sigma in that manuscript has been so worn away, that in another century we shall probably read neither Θ̄C nor OC, but simply O, nor has even this letter

<sup>1</sup> See the Orient. Bibl. Vol. VII. p. 138, 139. Vol. IX. p. 143, 144. Vol. X. p. 564.

letter been spared, though it takes no part in this dispute<sup>r</sup>.

To discover the genuine reading of a manuscript, where the letters are faded, the best method is to have recourse to such as related to it, either in time, place, or character, and if possible, to those which were immediately copied from it while the letters were still legible. Velthusen<sup>s</sup> and Griesbach<sup>t</sup> are unanimous in regard to the propriety of this rule, but in their application of it to 1 Tim. iii. 16. they have drawn directly opposite conclusions: and as the manuscripts are so divided in this passage, it is more equitable to declare them neutral, and quote them neither in favour of *ος* nor *θεος*. Those who endeavour to supply what time has destroyed, and venture to write anew the remnant, or seeming remnant of a faded stroke, are guilty of an act that deserves the highest censure: the Codex Alexandrinus has suffered in this manner<sup>s</sup>, but the authors of these amendments have deprived their successors of the means of judging for themselves, and have defeated the end which they intended to answer.

It was formerly the practice of the Christians to write in their *Lectioharium*, or book of lessons, certain words at the beginning of each lesson. If the lesson was taken from the Gospels, and the portion selected to be read had reference to Jesus, the word *Ιησους* was generally prefixed: if taken from the epistles, the word *αδελφοι*, and if from those of Timothy, they prefixed *τεκνον Τιμοθεε*. Now, when these words are found only in *Lectionaria*, they are evident additions, and entitled to no place among the various readings. But from these collections of select parts they have crept into copies of the whole New Testament, and many of our various readings can be ascribed to no other cause. Numerous examples might be given, in which *ο Ιησους*, after *και ειπεν*, seems totally superfluous; but that which is most striking is  
Luke

<sup>r</sup> See Velthusen's *Observations on various subjects*.

<sup>s</sup> In his *Observations on various subjects*.

<sup>t</sup> In the preface to the second volume of his *Greek Testament*.

Luke vii. 31. where the words *επει δε ο Κυριος*, which are inserted in the text of our common editions, are wanting in almost all the manuscripts of the New Testament<sup>6</sup>, but are contained in the Lectionaria<sup>7</sup>. In forming an estimate of readings of this kind, we may apply the following rules.

1. The Lectionaria are not to be admitted as evidence, but only manuscripts of whole books of the New Testament.

2. When *Ιησους*, *αδελφοι*, or other similar words, are found at the beginning of a lesson, they are to be considered as suspicious, and fifty manuscripts which contain them, have no weight against the same number which omit them.

The omission of a passage in an antient manuscript, which the writer added afterwards in the margin, might again lead a copyist into error, unless it was particularly marked, in what part of the text the passage ought to be inserted. Many manuscripts are still extant, in which omissions are in this manner supplied, especially in those preserved at Moscow, which Matthäi has extracted, and accurately described. In the twenty-third chapter of St. Matthew it is still undecided, whether the 13th. or 14th. verse ought to precede: in four manuscripts of good authority, which are quoted by Wetstein, and in some of the versions, the 14th. verse is entirely omitted: in some of the manuscripts the 13th. verse of our common editions precedes, in others the 14th. These different phænomena seem to be explicable only on the following hypothesis; that the 14th. verse was originally a part of the text; that the circumstance of its beginning with the very same words as the 13th. gave rise to its omission, through an oversight of the early transcribers; and that those manuscripts, in which we find the verse omitted, were taken from these defective copies: again, that in some of these defective copies the omission was supplied in the margin, which subsequent subscribers, unable to determine its proper place, inserted, some immediately

<sup>6</sup> See Matthäi's Note to this passage 7.

mediately after the 12th. others immediately before the 15th. verse. From these circumstances important conclusions might be made respecting some of the antient editions of the New Testament, namely the Western, the Alexandrine, and the Grecian: but this is not the place for such an inquiry<sup>6</sup>.

An autograph itself might be the innocent occasion of an error: for if a new thought occurred to an Apostle, after the period, or perhaps page, was already written, it is probable that his amanuensis, instead of writing the whole sheet over again, would note it in the margin. Now if a transcriber copied from such an autograph, at the time that transcripts were taken from the scattered books of the New Testament, in order to collect them into a volume, and inserted the marginal clause in a wrong place, the error must of course be universal, as this collection was the basis of all our present manuscripts. There is a passage in the ninth chapter of the epistle to the Romans which excites a very strong suspicion of this kind: the 16th. verse, as it stands in all our manuscripts, is very improperly placed between the 15th. and 17th. It is generally explained as having reference to the history of Esau, related in the 27th chapter of Genesis; and, as no doubt can be made that this was the design of the Apostle, its proper place is immediately after the 13th. verse. Every one must be convinced that the verse in question can have no relation to Pharaoh, who was certainly neither *Θελων* nor *τρεχων*, yet as it stands at present, it is so intimately connected with the 15th. verse by *αρα εν*, and with the 17th. by *λειγει γαρ*, both of which relate to Pharaoh, that without the utmost violence it cannot be referred to any other person. But the whole passage, which at present is contradictory to common sense, is rendered perfectly intelligible by placing the verses in the following order, 13, 16, 14, 15, 17. What then can be more natural than to suppose that St. Paul dictated at first only the 13th. 14th. 15th. 17th. verses, that the thought expressed in the 16th. verse occurred to him afterwards, perhaps on a revival



vifal of the epistle, and that this clause was added in the margin in the following manner?

Τον Ιακωβ ηγαπησα, τον τε Ησαυ εμισησα. Τι  
 εν ερεμεν; μη αδικια παρα τω Θεω; μη γενοιτο,  
 τω γαρ Μωση λεγει ελεησω ον αν ελεω, και οικτειρω  
 ον αν οικτειρω. Λεγει γαρ η γραφη τω Φαραω, οτι  
 εις αυτο τατο εξηγειρα σε, οπως ενδειξωμαι εν σοι την  
 δυναμιν μου, και οπως διαγγελη το ονομα μου εν παση  
 τη γη. Αρα εν αν θελει, ελεει, ον δε θελει σκλη-  
 ρυνει.

Αρα εν τε θελοντος ενδε  
 τε τρεχοντος, αλλα τε  
 ελεειος θε.

There is another remarkable passage in the epistle to the Romans, which deserves to be examined more at length, because the variations in the manuscripts may possibly be ascribed to a cause which seems to have operated in this place alone. If I am not mistaken in assigning the reason, it will throw some light on a celebrated text, which has engaged the attention of the critics, but has never been fully rescued from obscurity. It appears, from a great majority of manuscripts and other authorities, that the three last verses of Rom. xvi. stood originally at the end of the xivth. chapter<sup>9</sup>. The question is, what could be the cause of this transposition? but instead of answering this question, we may propose another: Is it not possible that the same concluding benediction was written originally at the end of both chapters? It was the common practice of the Jews to close every book, or important portion of scripture, with words of comfort and exhortation; and where these were omitted by the author, it was not unusual, at the end of a paragraph descriptive of the divine judgements, to repeat a passage, from the same author, relating to the goodness and mercies of the Deity. Of this custom four books of the Old Testament, Isaiah, Malachi, the Lamentations, and Ecclesiastes, contain evident examples<sup>10</sup>. The same benediction therefore, which had been already written at the end of the xivth. chapter, might have been repeated at the close of the epistle, either by command of the

the Apostle, or according to the practice of the Jews, by the amanuensis himself; but being probably considered as an addition of the latter, it was omitted in most of the subsequent copies. As this subject has not been exhausted by the critics<sup>12</sup>, I will subjoin a table of variations, in which the reader may see the state of the case at a single view. This passage is,

I. Placed at the end of the xivth. chapter, in 68 manuscripts, in which are included those quoted by Wetstein and Matthäi, the five Vienna manuscripts collated by Treschow<sup>13</sup>, and in two others: likewise in the new Syriac and Slavonian versions<sup>14</sup>, and the fathers quoted by Wetstein and Griesbach. Also in some of the manuscripts that existed in the time of Origen; and Marcion must have found it in this place, as he has rejected it, as well as a part of the preceding verse, viz. *πάντες οὖν ἐκ τῆς πονηρίας ἀμαρτίας ἐσιν*<sup>14</sup>.

II. Placed at the end of the xivth. chapter, in the Codex Alexandrinus, where it is twice found, and in the Codex Baroccianus, but the Codex Lu. quoted by Bengel, is very uncertain. Griesbach quotes likewise the Codices<sup>15</sup>, Ephrem, Cantabrigiensis, Basil. 2, and Regius 54. Also in some of the manuscripts in the time of Origen, a circumstance of great importance, and in the following antient and venerable versions.

The old Syriac, with the Arabic version taken from it, published by Erpenius.

The Coptic.

The Armenian<sup>16</sup>.

The Latin, where Sabatier found no various reading: but it is omitted in the Codex Boernerianus\*.

The Æthiopic, which is of less value than the preceding.

Now

<sup>12</sup> See the Orient. Bibl. Vol. XXIII. p. 151, 152<sup>12</sup>.

\* Mr. Stemler, in a letter dated Sept. 12, 1782, writes as follows, 'The Latin version of the Codex Boernerianus is interlined, and written later than the Greek text<sup>17</sup>, but in passages where there is no Greek text, there is no version. Rom. xvi. 24. is neither at the end of the epistle, nor at the end of the 14th chapter, but in the latter place, after *ἀμαρτίας ἐσιν*, is a vacant space for six lines of text and version.'

Now the old Syriac, the Latin, and the Coptic versions, are evidence of the first rank, and it is unjust to condemn a reading which they support. The most probable conclusion therefore is, that the passage which had been written at the end of the xivth. chapter, was repeated at the end of the epistle, either by command of the Apostle, or by the amanuensis, of his own authority.

III. Omitted at the end of the xvth. chapter, in the Claromontanus<sup>18</sup>, Augiensis, and Boernerianus, and according to the account of Fleischer, in two Paris manuscripts 47 and 56, which, with those enumerated No. I. make upwards of seventy manuscripts, beside the versions and quotations of the fathers, in which the passage is omitted at the end of the xvth. chapter.

IV. Placed at the end of both chapters, in the Codex Alexandrinus<sup>19</sup> alone. Now as it appears from No. I. that the passage at the end of the xivth. chapter is genuine, and from No. II. that it most probably had a place likewise at the end of the xvth. we might conclude that the Codex Alexandrinus was the only manuscript existing that was a genuine copy of the original, were not the probability diminished by a circumstance, that has given birth to false readings on other occasions, and possibly in the present instance, namely, that the writer of this manuscript transcribed from two or more that had different readings, and being uncertain which was the proper place, copied both, that neither might be lost.

V. Omitted in both places by Marcion<sup>20</sup>, according to a passage in Origen, quoted by Wetstein in his remarks on Rom. xiv. 23. Also in several manuscripts that existed in the time of Jerom<sup>x</sup>, and among those which are now extant, in the Claromontanus<sup>21</sup>, Augiensis, and Boernerianus. The writers of these three manuscripts

<sup>x</sup> Jerom, in his note to Ephes. iii. 5. Tom. iv. p. 351. ed. Benedict, says, qui volunt prophetas non intellexisse quod dixerint, et quasi in ekstasi locutos, eum præsentis testimonio illud quoque, quod ad Romanos in *plerisque* codicibus invenitur, ad confirmationem sui dogmatis trahunt, legentes, 'ei autem qui potest vos roborare,' &c.

manuscripts doubted probably its authenticity, because it was found in different copies in different places, but in the last manuscript a vacant space of six lines is left at the end of the xivth chapter<sup>22</sup>.

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## S E C T. XI.

*Fourth Cause. Critical conjecture, or intended improvement of the original text.*

**I**N reading the works of an author of known literary reputation, we ascribe grammatical or orthographical errors, if any are to be found, rather to a mistake of the printer, than to a want of knowledge in the writer. In the same manner the transcriber of a manuscript attributes the faults of his original to the error of a former copyist, and alters them, as he supposes they were written by the author. But if he carries his critical conjectures too far, he falls himself into the error which he intended to avoid: this may be done,

1. When through ignorance of the principles of grammar he takes an expression to be faulty, which in reality is not, as was the case with Houbigant, in his critical amendments of the Old Testament. This has sometimes happened to the transcribers of the New Testament, for instance Acts xx. 3. *γνωμη* has been altered by several into *γνωμης*, from the supposition that *ποιησας* was the nominative, which should be referred to *εγενετο*. Acts xxvi. 2. *πηγμαi εμαυτον μακαριον, μελλων*: a Codex Coislinianus, (Wetstein's Codex 17.) has altered *μελλων* into *μελλοντα*, and in the third verse three manuscripts have *επισαμενος* before *γνωσην οντα*, the construction appearing imperfect because *επι σς* had immediately preceded. See likewise the various readings Matth. xxii. 16. (*λεγοντες*) 1 Cor. x. 16. 2 Cor. vi. 4. and my father's *Tractatio Critica*, §. 7. b. Sometimes we find orthographical corrections, or a word, that is written two different ways, altered to that which is supposed the most accurate. The

brook and valley of Kedron, is properly ο Κεδρων, τὰ Κεδρωνος, and is so written by Josephus: but it was the foible of the Greeks to derive foreign proper names from their own language, and hence we find in the Septuagint the valley of Kedron, styled the valley των κεδρων, of cedars. St. John uses it in the same manner, περαν τὰ χειμαρρὰ των κεδρων, but the Codex Alexandrinus, the only manuscript in which an alteration is made, has τὰ Κεδρων, which is likewise the reading of the Vulgate<sup>γ</sup>. Now this correction is exactly the same, as if we altered Musselmen into Muslemin, which is the plural, according to the language, from which the word is taken.

2. When a transcriber mistakes the sense of the author, and supposes that he has discovered a grammatical error, when in fact he himself construes falsely. Every man, versed in literary publications, knows that this very frequently happens to compositors, and half-learned correctors of the press: but what is more extraordinary, even the great Bentley has exposed himself to this censure, and in his correction of Gal. iv. 25. has betrayed a want of knowledge, as great as his presumption<sup>δ</sup>.

3. When the grammatical error intended to be corrected proceeded actually from the author himself. In this case no critic is at liberty to make an alteration, whose business is to restore the genuine text, as it proceeded from the writer, and not to regard it as the exercise of a school-boy. Corrections of this kind have been attempted more especially in the book of Revelation, for which I refer my readers to Bengel's Apparatus Criticus, § 5. of the section fundamenta criseos Apocalypticæ<sup>ε</sup>.

Hence we may deduce the following critical rules,

1. In those passages, where we find only an apparent grammatical error, the seemingly erroneous reading may be generally considered as the genuine, and the other readings as corrections, and therefore spurious.

2. Real

<sup>γ</sup> See Wetstein's Note to John xviii. 1.

<sup>δ</sup> Remarks on Bentley's intended edition of the Greek Testament will be given in a subsequent chapter.

2. Real grammatical errors, in the works of a correct and classical writer, are justly ascribed to a mistake of the copyist, and the same sentiments may be entertained of an author of less eminence, when among several copies one or two only have the false reading.

3. But when expressions, that deviate from the strictness of grammar, are found in the writings of an author, who had not the advantage of a learned education, and was totally regardless of the accuracy of his style, not in single, but repeated instances, and retained in a very great number of manuscripts, they must be attributed not to the transcriber, but the author.

4. When one grammatical error in particular is frequently found in one and the same writing, as the improper use of the nominative in the book of Revelation, no doubt can be made that it proceeded from the author himself.

Weustein, in his *Animadversiones ad examen variarum lectionum necessariorum*, in the second volume of the New Testament, p. 859—862, has made some very important observations upon this subject: it remains therefore only to observe, that these corrections are not always to be attributed to real design; for a transcriber, who copied not word for word, but fixed in his memory a whole passage before he wrote it, might inadvertently use the more usual construction, instead of that in the original. This again is a confirmation of the first of the above rules.

The amendments of transcribers have not been confined to grammatical mistakes, in the proper sense of the word, but have been applied to cases where the construction was supposed to deviate from Grecian purity. Knittel, in his *Criticisms on the book of Revelation*, p. 38, has the following excellent remark: 'The vicious practice of rendering the Grecian text of the New Testament more Grecian than the original, is very ancient. The first attempt was made by Tatian\*, who corrected in this manner the epistles of St. Paul; to whom, if I am not mistaken, we may add Tryphillius, an Egyptian bishop,

\* Eusebii Hist. Eccles. Lib. IV. cap. 99.

bishop, for this opinion is justified by the relation of Sozomen<sup>b</sup>. As so much attention has been lately given to the Codices Latinizantes, I am astonished that no one has attended to the Codices Græcizantes, which exist as well as the Latinizing manuscripts, and vary from the text of the original. Perhaps several passages in the Codex Guelferbitanus H, which I have published with Ulphilas, may be referred to this class.\* Examples of this kind I have likewise observed, but having neglected to note them, can recollect at present only two. Luke i. 64. ἀνοήθη το σωμα αὐτῆ καὶ ἡ γλῶσσα αὐτῆ appeared to some of the critical transcribers to be inaccurate, because the mouth only, and not the tongue is opened in speaking; we find therefore in the Complutum edition, and a Moscow manuscript, the addition of διηρθρωθη, while others wrote ἐλύθη ὁ δαίμων τῆς γλῶσσης. The other instance is Acts viii. 45. where ἀνίλεγοίς is omitted in several of the manuscripts as an ill-sounding word<sup>3</sup>, and two manuscripts have even substituted ἐναλίκαμοι. This reading has been preferred by many critics of real learning, which is the more surprising, as Weistein very justly observes, that in a book like the New Testament, which is manifestly written in impure Greek, the Hebraizing and idiotical reading is always to be preferred to the pure and classical<sup>4</sup>.

Some of the copyists have ventured a step further, and have not only corrected ungrammatical or inaccurate expressions, but have converted inelegant into elegant phrases. The late Gesner, in his preface to Claudian, has made the following observation. ‘If two different readings, the one elegant the other inelegant, be found in a passage of an author who is known to have possessed the graces of composition, in Horace, in Claudian, in Job, the Psalms, or Isaiah, we may presume that the elegant is the genuine reading. But if found in authors who have entirely neglected the beauty and propriety of language, such as the writers of the New Testament, we may rather, with a very few exceptions, lay down the  
contrary

<sup>b</sup> Hist. Eccles. Lib. I. cap. xi.



contrary as a rule, and prefer the Hebraizing and idiosyncratic reading to that which is refined and classical. But this rule admits of different modifications, when applied to different books of the New Testament, nor must we draw precisely the same inference with respect to a reading in the Acts of the Apostles, or the epistle to the Hebrews, as in the Gospel of St. Mark. In the epistles of St. Paul, the most exquisite and delicate terms are not to be suspected as spurious; and in the book of Revelation the most probable reading is that which is rudely sublime, not that which is correctly beautiful. If examples are required, in which transcribers have attempted to improve and beautify the text of the New Testament, we may produce the following: Matth. v. 10. *οἱ αὐτῶν εἰν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν ὀρανῶν*, being the very same words, which had been used in the third verse, were altered in several manuscripts, so ancient as the time of Clement of Alexandria, into *οἱ αὐτοὶ εἶναι τελεῖοι*, to avoid the inelegance of a repetition; and, as a further improvement on the passage, was added *καὶ μακάριοι οἱ διδιωγμένοι ἐνεκα ἐμῶν, οἱ ἔξουσιν τόπον οὗ οὐ διωχθήσονται*. Another instance is John xvi. 6. in which *πεπληρωκεν* was in a very early age altered into *πεπῶρωκεν*, with a view of amending the original.

To the improvements intended to be made by correcting what appeared inaccurate, or supplying what seemed to be deficient, may be added those of omitting what was deemed superfluous; yet omissions are sometimes occasioned by an oversight of the copyist, or by mistaking a real part of the original, for a scholion intruded on the text. Mark xii. 23. the words *οἱ αὐτοὶ ἀναστασῶσι*, immediately following *ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἀναστάσει*, appear to be unnecessary; in seven manuscripts quoted by Wetstein they are omitted, and Beza's opinion was '*potest expungi nulla sensus injuria*.' It is true, that the meaning of the passage would not suffer if they were omitted, yet they are not absolutely useless, because they are to be referred not to the Resurrection of the Dead in general, but to that of the seven brethren in particular: but  
admitting

admitting them to be useless, they are not therefore to be deemed spurious in such a writer as St. Mark. In the same Gospel, ch. xiv. ver. 51. the Syriac version, the Coptic, the Vulgate<sup>5</sup>, two antient manuscripts of the old Italic, namely the Vercellensis and Brixienfis<sup>6</sup>, with three Greek manuscripts<sup>7</sup>, omit *οι νεανισκοι*, and Mill was inclined to believe it a scholion<sup>c</sup>. Now, in a writer of taste and elegance, we might reasonably suspect its authenticity, because it is unnecessary, and *κρατῶσιν αὐτον* is not only intelligible, but more harmonious without it, whereas the effect produced by the whole sentence *και εις τις νεανισκος ηκολαθει αυτω περιβεβλημενος σινδωνα επι γυμνα, και κρατῶσιν αυτον οι νεανισκοι* is disagreeable to the ear. Were this passage in a classic author, we should naturally ascribe its inelegance to some mistake of a transcriber, and suppose him to have been guilty of an oversight, in transferring *νεανισκος* from the beginning to the end of the sentence, and writing it in the plural. But instead of venturing a conjecture to rescue the language of St. Mark from the charge of inelegance; it is agreeable to truth to pronounce the least elegant of the two readings to be the genuine. For this Evangelist has never avoided the use of an expression on account of its harshness or superfluity: of the two readings therefore, that, which is preferable in itself, we may ascribe to the correction of a transcriber. St. Mark was so accustomed to use the word *ευθως* on every occasion, that it is found forty-one times in the Greek Concordance from his Gospel alone. In several of these passages *ευθως* is omitted in one or more of the manuscripts, but on the other hand, in many places where it is omitted in our printed editions, it is found either in manuscripts or versions. Now, in forming a judgement of the true reading, the question is, whether the superfluous *ευθως* is to be rejected or not? This question we may safely answer in the negative, for were it an addition made by the copyists, it would hardly be confined to this Gospel alone; but from a writer who paid no attention to propriety of composition

<sup>c</sup> Prolegomena, § 409.

tion it may naturally be expected; it is therefore probable, not only that the one-and-forty passages are genuine, but that *euδwς* was written by the author in still more examples, and one of my pupils has actually counted twelve other instances among the various readings.

It is true that other critics are of a different opinion; Semler, whose object was to render the text of the New Testament as concise and energetic as possible, has never failed to adopt the shortest reading, though supported only by the authority of a single manuscript<sup>8</sup>: and Griesbach, in the preface to his edition of the New Testament, has laid it down as a rule, that in passages where there are different readings, the shortest is to be preferred<sup>9</sup>. But as it is the business of a critic to inquire, not which is the best, but which is the genuine reading, or that which proceeded from the author himself, the style and character of the author must be examined before any positive conclusion can be drawn. I admit that in the works of Tacitus the concise reading is probably the genuine, and that which is dilated into weakness, a scholion obtruded on the text: but in the copious and diffuse Mosheim, we might suspect a passage to be spurious that resembled the brevity of the Roman historian. In the same manner the writers of the New Testament have their peculiarities of style, to which strict attention must be paid in deciding on the authenticity of a reading. Writers of unpolished language have usually some favourite superfluous particle, and no reason can be ascribed why *euδwς* should be denied to St. Mark. The strength and elegance of classic diction is no where to be discovered in the New Testament; for though the language of St. Paul is concise and forcible, it arose merely from the warmth of his character, and has no resemblance to that studied composition, which is careful to correct and erase whatever may diminish the beauty, or weaken the energy of the periods.

But alterations in the text are sometimes to be ascribed to the ignorance, rather than to the taste of the transcribers, in supposing an expression to be faulty which in reality was

was correct. *Εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ*, Acts iv. 5. was thought to involve a contradiction, as it seemed absurd to say that the members of the Sanhedrim came to Jerusalem. The Syriac translator has omitted the reading, and in ten manuscripts quoted by Wetstein it is changed into *ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ*. Mill preferred the latter reading, because it is the most easy, but Bengel, who had subscribed to this opinion, revoked it afterwards in his *Guomion*, and Wetstein, the very best judge in the choice of a reading, gave the preference to the former<sup>9</sup>, which is warranted by a great majority of manuscripts. Wetstein was undoubtedly right, for if St. Luke had written *ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ*, it is inconceivable that transcribers should alter a reading, whose sense is obvious, into one that is obscure; but though obscure and misunderstood, it conveys an adequate meaning, it being common in Jerusalem, as in other capitals, for men of rank and fortune to spend a part of the year either in the suburbs, or at a summer residence in the neighbourhood of the city. The words of Herod, Matth. xiv. 2. *ἄνθρωπος ἐστὶν Ἰωάννης ὁ βαπτιστής*, have the appearance of contradicting Luke ix. 9. and it was manifestly with a view of removing the difficulty, that in the Codex Cantabrigiensis they are altered to *μητις ἄνθρωπος ἐστὶν Ἰωάννης ὁ βαπτιστής*. The reading *ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἦν πνεῦμα ἅγιον*, John vii. 39. is somewhat harsh, in the Codex Vaticanus therefore we find *διδόμενον* added, and in the Codex Cantabrigiensis *ἐπ' αὐτοῖς* or *αὐτοῦς*<sup>11</sup>; but as the two manuscripts disagree in their additions, it is a proof that neither is genuine<sup>12</sup>. I am really surprised that, as the three first words were written in the antient manuscripts *ΟΥΠΩΓΑΡΗΝ*, it has never occurred to alter it into *ΟΥΠΩΓΑΡΠΑΡΗΝ*, and I should be disposed to make this critical conjecture, as a copyist might very easily be guilty of the oversight of omitting *ΠΑΡ* immediately after *ΓΑΡ*, if the same harsh construction were not to be found in another passage<sup>13</sup>. More examples of this kind may be seen in my father's *Tractatio Critica*, §. 7. h.

Hence

<sup>9</sup> Acts xix. 2<sup>18</sup>.

Hence we may justly draw the following rule: ‘Whenever two different readings occur, one of which seems difficult and obscure, but may be explained by the help of antiquity, and a more accurate knowledge of the language, whereas the other is so easy as to be obvious to the meanest capacity, the latter reading is to be suspected. No transcriber would designedly change a clear into an obscure reading, nor is it possible that inadvertency should make so happy a mistake as to produce a reading, that perplexes indeed the ignorant, but is understood and approved by the learned. This rule is the touchstone which distinguishes the true critics from the false. Bengel and Wetstein, critics of the first rank, have admitted its authority, but those of inferior order prefer in general the easy reading, for no other reason than because its meaning is most obvious’<sup>14</sup>.

An application of the rule to particular cases will render it more intelligible, and I will select an instance in which even Bengel appears not to have felt its influence, though Wetstein with his usual sagacity, has adopted the genuine reading, not without perceiving the difficulty, which he was unable to remove. Rom. xvi. 5. Epænetus is called *ἀπαρχὴ τῆς Ἀχαιῶν εἰς Χριστὸν*, but six manuscripts quoted by Wetstein have *Ἀσιας* instead of *Ἀχαιῶν*, and the Codex Vindobonensis 34. has the same as a correction<sup>15</sup>. Grotius, Mill, Whitby, and Bengel, prefer *Ἀσιας*, but Wetstein, whose critical judgment we have no reason to suspect, gave the preference to *Ἀχαιῶν*, which is the common reading<sup>16</sup>. Those who are in favour of the alteration, ground their arguments on the apparent contradiction between this passage and 1 Cor. xvi. 15. where the house of Stephanas is called *ἀπαρχὴ τῆς Ἀχαιῶν*, and Wetstein himself has made only a weak attempt to remove it, in saying potuit Epænetus domesticus Stephani Romæ fuisse quem Paulus τῇ οἰκίᾳ Ἐπὶφᾶνα salutans intelligit. But in fact the commentators have created a difficulty where no difficulty exists. On the day of Pentecost three thousand persons were converted to Christianity, all of whom might be styled

styled *απαρχη* *Ιεροσολυμων* *εις* *Χριστον*, and in the same manner *απαρχη* *της* *Αχαιας* is to be confined neither to Epænetus, nor to the house of Stephanas in particular, but is applicable to the first Achæan converts in general<sup>17</sup>. From these premises it follows, that *Αχαιας* is the genuine reading, and *Ασιας* a correction, and therefore spurious; for had St. Paul written *Ασιας*, no reason could be assigned for altering it into *Αχαιας*, whereas the seeming contradiction of the latter reading was sufficient to induce a copyist to change it into *Ασιας*<sup>18</sup>. On the very same principles we may determine which is the genuine reading, and which is correction, *δευτερω* or *πρωτω*, Acts xiii. 33<sup>c</sup>. Ernesti, in his *Castigationes Wetstenianæ editionis*, disapproves the preposition *κατα*, Acts xvii. 25. as rendering the passage obscure, but the Arabic translator must have supposed it to be intelligible, having rendered it *في كل صقع* in omnibus locis. Wetstein therefore was not to be censured for being guided by a majority of the manuscripts, as the reading has been since confirmed by other arguments<sup>20</sup>. But in the application of this rule we must never forget the essential clause, “if the difficult reading admits a satisfactory explanation.” as perspicuity is at all times to be preferred, unless solid reasons can be given to the contrary.

The various readings which have been described in this section, are in reality critical conjectures inserted in the text: the remarks therefore on this subject, which the reader will find toward the close of the next volume, where a striking example will be given of a critical but false conjecture of the very learned Origen, that has been intruded into all our editions, may be referred to the present chapter. In some of the manuscripts, which are still extant, critical conjectures are found in the margin, of which the Codex Vindobonensis Lambecii 24. is an instance<sup>f</sup>: and if a transcript had been taken from this manu-

<sup>a</sup> See the Orient. Bibl. Vol. II. p. 219—222<sup>19</sup>.

<sup>f</sup> Orient. Bibl. <sup>21</sup> Vol. VI. p. 20, 21.

manuscript, that which is critical error would have been converted into a various reading.

Another source of various readings, which occupies a middle rank between critical conjecture and wilful corruption, is the omission of a word that seemed to be offensive, or to derogate from the dignity of some virtuous and eminent character. This source may be termed Jewish, for the Jews themselves acknowledge that they had purposely changed Moses into Manasses, Judges xviii. 30. with a view of rescuing their lawgiver from the imputation of having grand-children that offered to idols<sup>22</sup>. Transcribers of the New Testament have been sometimes of the same opinion, and no doubt can be made that the original reading, Matth. xxvii. 16, 17. was *Ἰησοῦ Βαραββᾶν*. Origen, whose words I shall presently quote, expressly declares it, and *Ἰησοῦ* is found in the Armenian, and in a Syriac translation which Adler discovered in Rome<sup>23</sup>. The reading is probable in itself, for Jesus was at that time a very common name among the Jews, as we learn from Josephus; and Barabbas was only an addition to the real name, signifying the son of Abba or Rabba. The relation of St. Matthew seems to be imperfect without it, and every impartial reader will prefer the following to the common text, 'Therefore when they were gathered together, Pilate said unto them, Whom will ye that I release unto you, Jesus the son of Abba, or Jesus which is called Christ?' It is true that the word Jesus before Barabbas is omitted in all our modern manuscripts, and still more modern editions; but Origen, by the very argument which he uses for rejecting it, proves that the greatest number of manuscripts in the third century still retained it, and is able to assign no critical reason for its omission. He says in multis exemplaribus non continetur quod Barabbas etiam Jesus dicebatur, et forsitan recte, ut ne nomen Jesu conveniat alicui iniquorum. In tanta enim scripturarum multitudine neminem scimus Jesum peccatorem, sicut in aliis nominibus justorum.—Non autem conveniebat esse tale aliquid in nomine Jesu; et puto, quod in hæresibus tale aliquid superadditum est, &c.

<sup>23</sup> Orient. Bibl. <sup>23</sup> Vol. XIX. p. 129, 130.



&c. This is an admirable argument for deciding on a man's name; it is the same as if a culprit were arraigned in a court of justice, and the judge should answer 'that cannot be the name of the culprit, for I know many honest men who are so called.' Another instance of the same pious alteration is found in the Acts of the Apostles, ch. xiii. 6. where the name of the impostor *Barnabas* has been tortured by commentators, transcribers and translators, all possible ways. Jerom was of opinion that it ought to be written *Barjehu*, and hence several Latin manuscripts, quoted by Bengel, have *Barjehu* or *Barjeu*. According to the Syriac orthography it should be written ܒܪܝܫܘܥ, which was probably the antient reading, and in Arabic بر يسوع; but this was altered by transcribers in two different methods. In the present copies of the old Syriac we find ܒܪܝܫܘܡܐ *Barishuma* or *filius nominis*, where ܐܡܐ is used in the same emphatical sense for *Inus*, as ܝܫܘܥ among the Jews for *Jehovah*. Other copyists endeavoured to conceal the name of Jesus by retaining in the Syriac the termination of the Greek, and wrote ܒܪܝܫܘܟ; and the author of the Arabic version published by Erpenius must have translated from a Syriac version which had this reading, as he has written ܒܪܝܫܘܫ. The opposite and artificial means therefore which have been used, either to remove or conceal the name of Jesus, afford sufficient evidence that all the readings which result from them are spurious.

Examples of this kind may direct us in judging of the authenticity of other passages, which have been either altered, or omitted for the same reason as the foregoing. The beautiful paragraph in St. John's Gospel, which begins with the last verse of the seventh chapter, has been omitted by many of the transcribers, for no other reason than because in their opinion it afforded an excuse for adultery. It is surprising that this motive has never occurred to modern critics, who have themselves made objections to the passage which appear from the 262<sup>nd</sup>. section of the Mosaical law<sup>24</sup> to be totally ungrounded. Wetstein, from whose judgment I am in  
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this case obliged to dissent, has faithfully quoted in his various readings the opinions of the ancient critics with respect to this passage, from which we may deduce the motives which led them to reject it; but the authorities which he has collected against it are real proofs of its authenticity<sup>25</sup>. Another instance of omission on the very same principles is Matth. xvi. 2, 3.

The causes which have produced a variation in passages of this nature may teach us at least to doubt the authenticity of many others. Mark i. 2. the reading of almost all our present manuscripts is *ἐν τοῖς προφηταῖς*, and only in a very few ancient copies<sup>26</sup> *ἐν Ἡσαίᾳ τῷ προφητῇ*. As the latter reading afforded Porphyry an opportunity of attacking the truth of the New Testament, it was changed into the former reading; yet the name of Esaias was still retained in the manuscripts of the fourth century, as appears from the words of Jerom, who, in order to avoid the ridicule of Porphyry, contended that the name of that prophet should be omitted, for which he assigns the following weighty reason, *Esaiæ nomen PUTAMUS additum scriptorum vitio*. On the same ground we may suspect the authenticity of *πῶ ἀναβαίνω*, John vii. 8. which is found in almost all our manuscripts; whereas two, which are quoted by Wetstein<sup>27</sup>, and a few Moscow manuscripts, quoted by Matthäi, are the only copies remaining which have *ἐκ ἀναβαίνω*. This reading had again afforded Porphyry an opportunity of attacking the New Testament, but the ecclesiastical writers of the four first centuries permitted *ἐκ* to remain, and were contented to answer Porphyry by an explanation of the passage; whereas transcribers in later ages, in order to remove the objection fundamentally, have changed it into *πῶ*. The word *χρῖς*, 1 Cor. x. 9. was deemed improper, because it seemed to imply that the Israelites in the time of Moses had tempted Christ: to remove this difficulty, transcribers have ventured an amendment, though they differ in their mode of making it, some have changed *χρῖς* into *θεός*, others into *κύριος*; but that which appears exceptionable is the true reading, and needs only a proper explanation<sup>28</sup>.

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It has sometimes happened that the frequent use of a word in a Gospel, or Epistle, has induced a transcriber to write it even in those cases, where the author had chosen a more unusual word. The alterations of this kind, which are occasioned by inadvertency, have been examined in the eighth section of this chapter, and those only belong to the present, which arose from actual design. An instance of the latter sort is James v. 15. respecting an exchange of *ευχη* and *προσευχη*<sup>29</sup>, and the reader will find another in my remarks to 1 Macc. iii. 26. of a similar exchange of *παραιταξων* and *πραξων*.

But of all the sources of various readings which are subjects of this section, the most ample and the most productive of spurious passages in the New Testament is the practice of altering parallel places, so as to render more perfect their conformity with each other. No books have suffered in this respect so much as the Gospels, especially in the old Latin translations, the transcribers of which, as we learn from the complaints of Jerom, instead of faithfully copying the original, acted rather, as if it was their business to compose a harmony of the Gospels. In the epistles of St. Paul, who in expressing the same sentiment in different parts of his writings would hardly have used in all precisely the same words, examples of this kind are frequently observed; and the quotations from the Old Testament, in cases where they differed from the words of the Septuagint, have been often corrected by transcribers in order to make them harmonize with the Greek version. Numerous passages in the Acts of the Apostles have been disfigured by these amendments, and where the same story is related more than once, as the conversion of St. Paul<sup>a</sup>, and that of Cornelius<sup>i</sup>, transcribers, and more frequently translators have supplied from the one what seemed to be deficient in the other<sup>k</sup>. The later transcripts

<sup>a</sup> Ch. ix. where it is related by St. Luke, ch. xxii. and xxvi. where it is related by St. Paul himself.

<sup>i</sup> Ch. x. and xi.

<sup>k</sup> This book has likewise suffered materially from interpolations of a different

scripts of the Latin vulgate (for the more antient the manuscripts, the more free they are from corruptions, as appears from the Codex Laudianus) have been especially defaced by these interpolations, of which several, that are no where to be traced among the Greek manuscripts, have been obtruded by the authority of Erasmus on the text of our common editions. But the copyists who wrote, and the critics who defend them, have less taste and judgement than the sacred historian; nor is it probable that an author like St. Luke, in recording at different periods the same event, would relate it precisely in the same manner.

When two different readings therefore are discovered in a passage, to which another passage either in the New Testament or in the Septuagint is parallel, one of which readings gives the text a perfect conformity with the parallel passage, the other a lower degree of similarity; the first is always to be suspected, unless very important reasons can be urged in its favour. But this rule, though founded on truth, has been not only violated, but even inverted by men of superficial knowledge, whom the caprice of fortune has converted into critics, who frequently allege in proof of the authenticity of a reading, that it is exactly the same in another passage of the sacred writings. Even the learned Wolf, for whom I have the most profound respect, has fallen into this mistake; for the acuteness of his criticism was very disproportionate to the depth of his erudition. If examples be required, to which the foregoing rule may be applied, I refer my readers to the following various readings, Mark xiv. 22. *φαγετε*, Matth. xxiv. 36. *αδελφαι υιους*, Luke xvii. 36. and Luke xi. 2, 3, 4. in which last example the Lord's prayer has been dilated by the copyists in a manner not warranted by the original.

The usual respect which is entertained for every version established by authority, and read in the service of  
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different kind, for instance, *εδοξε δε τω Σιλα επιμειναι αυτον*, ch. xv. 34. and v. 20. and 29. *και οσα μη θελητε ταυτοις γενεσθαι ελεος μη επι- εις 30.*

the church, has been sometimes carried so far as to induce transcribers to alter the original Greek, where it differed from the version to which they were accustomed. These alterations may be considered in three different points of view.

1. A transcriber, without the authority of any Greek manuscript, sets in the copy that he was taking the reading which corresponds to that in his version, and which the author of this version had found in the manuscript from which he translates. This is no new reading, but only an evidence in favour of one that existed before, yet the evidence is of no weight.

2. He selects out of various manuscripts that reading which is most suitable to the reading of his version. Our earliest editors of the Greek Testament, Erasmus as well as the Spanish editors have been guilty of this fault, nor are they entirely free from a suspicion of the former.

3. He alters the Greek text on the authority of his version in places where the version is absolutely false.

It has been very generally supposed that many of these alterations have been made from the Latin version; and those Greek manuscripts, which have been exposed to the charge, are termed *Codices Latinizantes*. Now these manuscripts are the most important, and the most valuable in our possession, and except in some few instances, I am persuaded that the accusation, as far as it regards the *Codices Latinizantes*, is ungrounded. But it is not improbable that the Syriac and Coptic versions have had some influence on the Greek copies of the New Testament. A transcriber who acts in this manner cannot be said to have designedly corrupted the text, as he is really misled by too great a veneration for the version established in the church, of which he is a member.

Lastly, if the manuscript in the possession of a transcriber or editor was in any place defective, he was reduced to the necessity either of leaving a vacancy in the copy, or filling up the space, by translating into Greek the passage as it stood in the version. This unpardonable method of restoring the lost text of an author was adopted

adopted by Erasmus in the Revelation of St. John : whether the same liberty has been taken in some of the manuscripts, and a part of the synonymous readings is to be ascribed to this cause, is a question that deserves to be examined.

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## S E C T. XII.

*Fifth Cause. Wilful corruptions, to serve the purposes of a party, whether orthodox or heterodox.*

THE antient fathers have accused the heretics of having falsified various passages in the New Testament, with a view either to annihilate the proof of some established doctrine, or to furnish new arguments in support of their opinions. But as religious zeal is incapable of a cool and philosophical inquiry, and the fathers of the church were more distinguished by pious enthusiasm than critical judgement, they were too much inclined to attribute every deviation from the copy, which they themselves possessed, to the wilful corruption of the opposite party. Though we admit their testimony, we are bound by the laws of candour to deduct from their evidence, as often as an ardent passion, in protecting the cause in which they were engaged, has led them beyond the bounds of probability and truth. No man will deny that the early Christians, who differed from the ruling church, have altered the New Testament in numerous examples, according to their particular tenets ; yet, though highly blameable where they have actually corrupted the sacred writings, their guilt is in general less heinous than the orthodox have believed.

No charge is so severe as that which has been laid to Marcion<sup>1</sup>, and no one has more justly deserved it. A great part of his various readings are preserved in the forty-second treatise of Epiphanius against heretics<sup>2</sup>; but as Epiphanius collected only from those books of  
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the New Testament, which Marcion acknowledged to be canonical, a considerable part are lost. For his alterations, which are often ingenious, were not confined to those Gospels and Epistles, the authority of which he admitted: he rejected the Gospel of St. Matthew, yet ch. 5.

17. μη νομισητε οτι ηλθεν καταλυσαι τον νομον η της προφητας, εκ ηλθεν καταλυσαι αλλα πληρυσαι, a passage which the members even of the orthodox church found it difficult to explain, Christ having actually abolished the Levitical law<sup>1</sup>, he changed into τι δοκειτε; οτι ηλθεν πληρυσαι τον νομον η της προφητας; εκ ηλθεν πληρυσαι αλλα καταλυσαι.

This alteration, which arose merely from his hatred of the law of Moses and the Old Testament, is among many others attempted by Marcion, an instance of wilful corruption; and we must approve at the same time the conduct of the orthodox, who, though perplexed by the passage, presumed not to alter the original. Mill is of opinion that his disciples have followed the example of their master, and either changed or erased the passages, that were unsuitable to their doctrines.

Yet not all the deviations of Marcion's text from that, which is in common use, are to be ranked in the list of wilful corruptions; and the various readings, for which he has been branded with the name of heretic, must be divided into three separate classes.

1. Unwarranted alterations made in favour of Marcion's own system.

2. Alterations grounded on the authority of manuscripts, which had various readings that differed from the common text, and which are still retained in many of our present manuscripts.

3. Readings that are not only warranted by authority, but preferable to the text of our common editions.

For instance και προσκολληθησεται προς την γυναικα αυτην, Ephes. v. 31. was omitted by Marcion<sup>1</sup>, and Jerom himself was of opinion that the passage came not from the hand of St. Paul<sup>2</sup>. Χριστον, which is the reading preferred by Marcion, 1 Cor. x. 8. is probably genuine, and the

<sup>1</sup> See Mill's Note to this passage.



the other a correction of a copyist'; at least we cannot ascribe it to the heterodoxy of Marcion, as it affords no argument in his favour.

The readings belonging to the second and third class are of importance in the criticism of the New Testament, and Mill and Wettstein are therefore to be commended for having collected all the readings of Marcion, which they were able to discover. It is very improbable that those readings of Marcion, which are likewise found in our manuscripts, arose from his corruption of the text: for he was so universally branded as a heretic, that no translator would have ventured to follow his example, except those who were his immediate disciples; but among all our manuscripts, not one has the least appearance of being written by a Marcionite. Mill, in his *Prolegomena*<sup>m</sup>, has made some excellent observations on this sect, to whom I refer my readers for more perfect information.

It is not my intention in the present chapter to write a history of the corruptions of the New Testament, or to enter into a long detail in respect to the persons who have been guilty, or at least accused of the attempt. Lucian<sup>n</sup>, Tatian<sup>o</sup>, Asclepiodotus<sup>p</sup>, Hermophilus, Apollonius, Hesychius<sup>q</sup>, with the followers of Manes<sup>r</sup>, and Valentinus<sup>s</sup>, have been successively exposed to the charge. But the Manichæans could have no motive to falsify particular passages, as they were able to answer their purpose in a more short and easy manner; and had they been disposed to corrupt the original, they were deficient in the means, as the most distinguished persons of that sect were ignorant of Greek, a language useless to philosophers, who believed that Persian metaphysics comprised all human knowledge. It is true that many of this party believed the New Testament to have been falsified in numerous passages; but if they had attempted to restore them to their pristine purity, the

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<sup>m</sup> § 306—327.

<sup>o</sup> § 361, 362.

<sup>r</sup> § 721—727.

<sup>n</sup> *Millii Prolegomena*, § 333—340.

<sup>p</sup> § 649—651.

<sup>s</sup> § 328—332.

<sup>q</sup> § 728.

alterations would be found not in the Greek original, but in the Syriac and Latin versions ; as the former was the language of Manes and his Eastern disciples, and the latter the only language that was known to the Manichæans of Africa. The Syriac manuscripts have not been sufficiently collated to enable us to judge whether traces of Manicheism are there visible or not ; but Jerom has preserved an interpolated Latin passage that has the appearance of coming from that party, and was added after the 14th verse of Mark xvi. viz. ‘et illi satisfaciebant, dicentes : seculum istud iniquitatis et incredulitatis substantia est, quæ non finit per immundos spiritus veram Dei apprehendi virtutem. Idcirco jam nunc revela justitiam tuam.’ But what is extraordinary, and, if it is true, defeats the foregoing hypothesis respecting the Manichæan corruptions, Jerom says of this passage, ‘in quibusdam exemplaribus, et maxime in Græcis codicibus, juxta Marcum in fine ejus evangelii scribitur’.<sup>†</sup> A careful examination of the hitherto uncollated manuscripts in Greek, Latin, and particularly Syriac, in regard to this passage, might lead to a discovery, and throw light upon a subject that is at present obscure.

Of all the sects into which the Christian church has been divided, none have had it in their power to alter the New Testament in a higher degree than the Arians, because they were more than once the ruling party. They have been accused of the most violent corruptions of the sacred text, but though it cannot be denied, that when in power they were as much inclined to persecution as the orthodox themselves, yet the crime of corruption has never been proved in a single instance. They are charged by the antient fathers of having erased a passage found in the old Latin version of St. John’s Gospel, ‘quia Deus Spiritus est,’ ch. iii. 6. ; now at least one half of the assertion is false, as appears from Blanchini *Evangeliarium quadruplex* ;<sup>‡</sup> but admitting the whole to be true, the orthodox convict themselves  
of

<sup>†</sup> Hieronymi Opera, Tom. IV. P. ii. p. 520. ed Martianay.

<sup>‡</sup> Tom. I. Prolegom. p. 62—64.

of error, and not the Arians, for every man acquainted with the criticism of the New Testament, knows that these words are spurious, unless the Latin version is better authority than the Greek original. We have no reason therefore to suppose that the celebrated passage in the first epistle of St. John<sup>w</sup>, which is universally omitted in the old Greek manuscripts, was erased by the fraud of the Arians; and those who support the argument, contradict the accounts of their own party, who relate that when Huneric, king of the Vandals in Africa, made his confession of faith, the true believers appealed to this passage in the Latin version, and that the Arians make no objection.

It is inconceivable how a critic like Wetstein could assert, ‘*orthodoxī τὰς ἐλεποδοξίας haud temere unquam mutatae scripturae accusarunt*’, and as the charge has been as frequently false as true, I am at a loss to comprehend the meaning of a passage, that seems to have been dictated by mere partiality. Though no advocate for heresy, I candidly confess that the orthodox themselves have been guilty of the charge, which they have laid to others; nor do I confine this assertion to those who have assumed the title without deserving it, but extend it even to such as have even taught the pure and genuine doctrines of the Bible. The hope of acquiring an additional proof of some established doctrine, or of depriving an adversary of some argument in his favour, may seduce even a true believer to the commission of a pious fraud. Or blinded by prejudice, and bound by the fetters of a theological system, he finds his favourite doctrine in every line; he expounds therefore not by reason, but by system; his explanations acquire the form of marginal notes, and these marginal notes are at length obtruded on the text. The words *καὶ ὁ υἱος*, Mark xiii. 32. were thought to afford an argument against the Divinity of Christ; Ambrose therefore was of opinion that they ought to be erased, and says that they were omitted in the old Greek manuscripts<sup>z</sup>. I will  
not

<sup>w</sup> Ch. v. 7.<sup>z</sup> Tom. II. p. 864.

not positively affirm that Ambrose was guilty of a falsehood, but this at least is certain, that no manuscript exists at present, in which they are not found. But admitting the pious father to have spoken the truth, and that he had actually a copy of a Greek manuscript, in which the words were omitted, it is natural to attribute the omission to the same motives as those by which he was actuated himself. The late Heumann, whose orthodoxy respecting the Divinity of Christ was never called in question, was of the same opinion with Ambrose, and was disposed to banish this passage from the text, in opposition to the unanimous testimony of the Greek manuscripts. Another instance is John viii. 44. *υμεις εκ πατρος τς διαβολς εστε*, which being used by the Manichæans, as a text of scripture that confirmed their doctrine of the Origin of Evil, was altered in such a manner, as to deprive them of the pretext of proving one of their philosophical tenets from a passage in the Bible, some of the transcribers omitting for that purpose the word *πατρος*, while others inserted *υμων* before *τς διαβολς*. In the same manner *προ εμς*, John x. 8. was rejected in many manuscripts, because the Manichæans quoted that text to prove that Christ had declared Moses and the prophets to have been impostors. Nor have these wilful corruptions been confined to the Greek original, for we may alledge an undeniable instance of the same unwarrantable liberty; that has been taken with Luther's German translation. That great reformer of our religion, being persuaded that the well-known passage in the first epistle of St. John<sup>7</sup> was not authentic, refused it a place in his translation of the Bible, and in the preface to his last edition protested solemnly against it, requesting those who were of a different opinion to leave his writings uncorrupted, and rather to make a new translation, than obtrude on the old what he denied to be genuine. But, guided by mistaken zeal in support of orthodox opinions, the divines of Germany, long after the death of Luther, inserted this spurious passage,

<sup>7</sup> Chap. v. 7.

passage, and yet retained the name of 'Luther's version' on the title. Even had the passage been genuine it would be still a corruption of the text of Luther; but since it is infallibly spurious, the authors of the interpolation are without excuse. The orthodox then may learn to have charity for their brethren, and be cautious of accusing those who differ in sentiment, since the charge, that is laid to their opponents, recoils too often on themselves. Jerom even gloried in his talent for theological conjecture, but if we strip a simple fact of its foreign ornament, and substitute plain language for a term that favours of learning, the boasted *conjectura theologica* is nothing more than wilful corruption<sup>2</sup>.

As we have received our manuscripts and editions of the New Testament from the hands of the orthodox, or, which is the same thing, the ruling party, we have less reason to fear that they are tainted with heresy. On the contrary, it is more natural, whenever a passage, that is quoted in support of some established opinion, cannot be sufficiently ratified by ancient authorities, to suspect the fidelity of an orthodox transcriber, or editor. Yet our apprehensions on this subject will be greatly diminished, when we reflect that many passages, which were obnoxious to the ruling party, are retained in all or most of the manuscripts; and on the other hand, that the spurious passage in the first epistle of St. John was admitted into none before the sixteenth century<sup>3</sup>. It seems that the opinions of the orthodox and heterodox were chiefly confined to their polemical writings; and that the ancient transcribers, whose profession was to copy and not to criticise, were as indifferent to the disputes of the learned, as a printer of the New Testament in the eighteenth century.

I readily subscribe therefore to the rule which is given by Wetstein, in the second volume of his New Testament, p. 864. *inter duas variantes lectiones ea quæ magis*

<sup>2</sup> In the chapter on the *Conjectura Theologica*, an example will be given in which Jerom erased *εἰς τὴν*, Matth. v. 22. in support of his system of morality<sup>7</sup>.

magis orthodoxa videtur (that is, as he himself explains it, quæ neutri parti favet, et sensum fundit, qui et reliquis scripturæ locis congruens est, et ab omnibus Christianis admittitur) non est protinus alteri præferenda, and recommend my reader to consult the passage in the original : but when he goes a step further, and adds quin in dubia re hanc (minus orthodoxam) illi præferendam esse judico, I am obliged to withhold my assent, as the two first arguments, which he has alledged in support of that opinion, appear to me to be neither convincing, nor deserving a place among the laws of criticism ?

But let us suppose the case of two different readings, one of which is not only less orthodox than the other, but heterodox in such a sense of the word, as to be repugnant not only to our own system of Theology, but to the certain doctrines of the Bible. Here Wetstein is of opinion that the heterodox reading must at all events be rejected, saying, lectionem minus orthodoxam intelligo non manifeste erroneam quidem illam et hæreticam, quis enim talem probaret ? Now we are bound in candour to acknowledge, that this rule favours rather of the partial advocate for religion, than the cool unbiassed searcher of the truth. If in arguing with a Sceptic on the authenticity of some particular reading, we contended that the other was spurious, because it contradicted another passage in the Bible, he would naturally answer, ‘ Instead of argument, you endeavour to convince me by assuming an hypothesis without demonstration, and attempt to destroy my train of reasoning, by the single authority of a dogmatical position.’ We cannot alledge the divinity of the New Testament, before we have proved it; and if in a critical inquiry into the authenticity of the text, we take it for granted, a priori, we either argue in a circle, or beg the question. Even if we presuppose the divine origin of Christianity, the rule is very uncertain; for a man may be thoroughly persuaded of the truth of the Christian religion, and yet doubt of the authenticity of the epistle

of St. Jude, and the book of Revelation. If he found a passage therefore in either of these writings, which contradicted the other parts of the New Testament, instead of pronouncing the passage to be spurious, he would use it as an argument against the authenticity of that particular book in which it was contained". For instance, should the account of seven spirits in the first chapter of the Revelation, which are ranked immediately after the Deity and before Christ himself, appear discordant to the known writings of St. John, the natural inference would be, not that the passage is spurious, which we have no reason to suspect, but that the author of the book itself was not St. John the Apostle".

I will therefore new-model the rule of Wetstein in the following manner.

1. A reading contradictory to a doctrine, which the same Apostle has delivered in another passage, is to be regarded as spurious, because contradictions are improbable in an accurate writer, and impossible in one who is divinely inspired.

2. A reading that contains heretical terms and doctrines of a later age, is to be considered as a forgery; of which the interpolation after Mark xvi. 14. mentioned in this section, is an instance.

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### S E C T. XIII.

#### *General Rules for deciding on the Various Readings.*

THE evidence, by which we are directed in judging of Various Readings, is either internal or external; that is, we either inquire into the different sources of error which have been examined in the preceding sections, the connexion of the passage, their clearness or obscurity, and the probability or improbability of their having been used by the author: or we appeal to the authority of testimonies, which consist in the antient Greek manuscripts, the still more antient versions, and the



the writings of the early fathers, who have quoted from the New Testament. As the question to be examined relates to a matter of fact, whether a particular word or phrase was written by an Apostle or not, the external evidence is the most important; but as the witnesses which constitute this external evidence, namely manuscripts, versions, and ecclesiastical writers in the early ages of Christianity, very frequently contradict each other, the validity of their respective testimonies must be determined by rules which are derived from internal probability. The greatest part of these have been already considered under their respective heads, it remains therefore only to add the following general observations.

1. As various circumstances might contribute to propagate very widely a false reading, we are not immediately to infer that a reading is genuine, because it has the greatest number of testimonies in its favour. It is possible, and I believe more than once the case in the New Testament, that the true reading is to be found in only a single manuscript. A very probable instance is John vii. 49. where for *ἐπικαταρατοί*, the Codex Reuchlini alone<sup>a</sup> has *ἐπαρᾶτοι*. *ΕΠΑΡΑΤΟΣ*, according to Suidas, Vol. I. p. 788. signifies, 1. the same as *ἐπικαταρατος*, 2. *ἐπαγωγός*, i. e. as Suidas explains it, p. 783. ‘seduced,’ or ‘seducing.’ In this latter sense it is derived from *επαράς*, which Suidas explains as synonymous to *πείσας*, and gives examples in support of that meaning<sup>2</sup>. *Επαρᾶτοι*, in the sense either of seduced, or seducing, is much better adapted to the passage in St. John than *ἐπικαταρατοί* accursed; its being an unusual word, and perhaps unknown to many of the transcribers, is an argument in favour of its authenticity; and as it is in one sense synonymous to the common reading, a copyist might be easily led, either by design or

<sup>a</sup> Since the publication of the third edition of this Introduction in 1777, *επαρᾶτοι* has been found by Professor Birch not only in the Fragmentum Borgianum, but also in the celebrated Codex Vaticanus. See the Orient. Bibl. Vol. XXIII. p. 151<sup>1</sup>.

or by oversight, to substitute that which was most generally known. The objection which might be made to *επατατοι*, on the supposition of its being a critical conjecture, or an intended improvement on the text, is removed by the circumstance that this reading is found in the passage as quoted by Origen, Cyril, and Chrysostom: it must therefore have been the common reading of the oldest manuscripts, though by time it has grown into disuse. In the same manner *εκ μελεις*, 1 Cor. xii. 27. found only in the Codex Claromontanus, *καυχησονται* xiii. 3. only in the Codex Alexandrinus<sup>3</sup>, though it stood in many Greek manuscripts in the time of Jerom, and *ηλει*, Mark xv. 34. in the Codex Cantabrigienfis alone<sup>4</sup>, are probably the true readings. But in these, and other similar cases, where more deference is paid to the authority of a single manuscript, than to that of united evidence, the reading must have very strong marks of authenticity in itself; nor must we forget to take into the account the probability of its being either a mistake, or a correction of the copyist. It is likewise possible that the true reading of a passage may no longer be extant in any of our manuscripts, in which case we have no other refuge than critical conjecture, which will be examined at large in a subsequent chapter.

2. When all other grounds of decision are wanting, or, *cæteris paribus*, as Wetstein expresses it, we must be guided by the majority of manuscripts. If the majority be great, the probability increases in proportion; but if forty manuscripts have one reading, and thirty another, or if the numbers approach still nearer to equality, the difference is too small to warrant a decision, and we are left in a state of uncertainty. But in the application of this rule, the words *cæteris paribus* must never be forgotten; for if thirty antient manuscripts are in favour of one reading, and forty modern manuscripts in favour of another, we cannot say *cætera paria*, because the authority of the antient, though less numerous testimonies, is greater than that of the modern. In general the application of this rule requires great caution, and it frequently

quently leads to no absolute decision. It is a matter of great doubt, John v. 2. whether Βηθισθα, or the very antient reading Βηζαθα<sup>5</sup>, is to be preferred. 1 Cor. xi. 17. it is very uncertain whether παραγγελων εκ επαινω, or παραγγελω εκ επαινων, is the true reading; and 1 Cor. xv. 20. equally uncertain whether εγνωτο is genuine or not<sup>6</sup>. In examples like these, it is consistent with modesty to acknowledge our ignorance, and where powerful arguments may be advanced on both sides, to leave the question undetermined.

3. An accurate manuscript is of course to be preferred to one that is negligently written: two manuscripts, one of which is copied from the other, can be admitted only as a single evidence, but if a word is faded in the more antient, it may be supplied from the more modern. Manuscripts, which, though not immediately copied from each other, have a great uniformity in their readings, seem to be the produce of the same country, and to have as it were the usual readings of that country. A set of manuscripts of this kind is to be considered as the same edition, in which it is of no importance, in respect to the authenticity of a reading, whether five hundred or five thousand copies be taken; numbers alone therefore decide nothing in the present instance<sup>7</sup>.

4. *Cæteris paribus*, an antient evidence is to be preferred to one that is more modern. From a manuscript of the sixth century, twenty or thirty copies may have been taken between that period and the fourteenth century, but were we in possession of these twenty or thirty copies, their united evidence would not be greater than that of the single manuscript from which they were transcribed. It is easy to see therefore, that a single manuscript of the sixth century is of more value to a critic, than a very great number of manuscripts of the thirteenth or fourteenth century. What then would be the value of a manuscript written in the third century, or if possible in the second, for the first is out of the question! I have said, *cæteris paribus* the more ancient manuscript is to be preferred, because some of the oldest  
Greek

Greek manuscripts have been exposed to the suspicion of having been interpolated from the Latin version. If this were true, their value would be much diminished, but the more I investigate the subject, the more I am persuaded that the charge is ungrounded.

A version made in the ninth, or in the fourth century, provided we have a genuine copy, may be regarded as the representative of a manuscript of the ninth, or fourth century, and probably of one of the most accurate. Now we have no manuscript that can be referred to a period prior to the sixth century, and the inestimable treasures of the first four centuries are irrecoverably lost. But their place is supplied by antient versions made during those centuries, whence we may discover the readings of the old Greek manuscripts from which they were taken, and also by the quotations of ecclesiastical writers who lived in those ages, except in cases where we have reason to suppose that these quotations have been altered by transcribers according to the reading of modern manuscripts.

5. But the most modern manuscripts, even those written immediately before the invention of printing, are not to be disregarded : for a manuscript written four or five hundred years prior to that discovery, is of less value than a faithful transcript taken in that age from a manuscript of the sixth or seventh century.

6. If a learned transcriber made use of several manuscripts as the basis of his copy, and selected those readings which appeared to him the best, his transcript is called a *Codex Criticus*, or *Codex Eclecticus*. A manuscript of this kind may contain a greater number of true readings than a common manuscript, but the former, considered as evidence, is of less weight than the latter ; for, the examination of a reading being an inquiry into a matter of fact, the rule is the same here as in a court of justice, in which a witness, who simply relates what he has seen or heard, is preferred to him who merely delivers his opinion. Griesbach, in his *Symbolæ*,  
p. ccii.

p. ccii. has described a very remarkable Codex Ecclesiasticus, viz. Bodleianus 24<sup>8</sup>.

7. A manuscript, in which a copyist has obtruded his own conjectures on the text, or copied from one in which critical alterations had been made, is of no value considered as evidence for a reading, because it is impossible to determine what is conjecture, and what is a copy of the original: but considered as a collection of critical conjectures, it is of value, and to be placed on a level with Bowyer's learned work. This rule I deliver only as theoretical, to be put in practice when opportunity offers, as I recollect no manuscript of the New Testament to which it is applicable. If a copy had been taken from the Codex Vindobon. 34. it would probably have become a manuscript of this description.

8. Printed editions are so far only to be admitted in evidence, as they are immediately taken from manuscripts. Properly speaking, we have only two such editions, that of Complutum, and that of Erasmus, which occupy the same rank as a modern Codex Criticus. From these two our present editions are derived, which afford therefore no additional evidence, being only a repetition of foregoing testimony; they are then only separate evidence, when they depart from these originals in favour of some antient manuscript. This will be shewn more fully in the History of the Editions of the New Testament: at present the reader may consult the preface to the second volume of Griesbach's New Testament, p. 13—30.

No art has contributed to the rapid propagation of error, as well as of truth, in an higher degree, than the art of printing. A mistake committed by a copyist was confined to a single manuscript, but the errors, of which the first editors of the New Testament were guilty, were transferred at once to a thousand copies dispersed in every part of Europe, and this number was soon augmented to an hundred thousand by means of the subsequent editions, to which they served as models. It is absurd therefore to contend that we should abide by our printed text;  
for

for this is to assert that no reading can be genuine, which was not preferred by Erasmus or the Spanish editors at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and in the infancy of criticism, when it is known that Erasmus was guilty of unpardonable carelessness and precipitation in his edition of the New Testament. But this assertion can proceed from no one who is not entirely destitute of learning, or to speak in the language of the apocalypse, who has not the seal of ignorance on his forehead.

9. As the terms great and small are only relative, in applying them to the number of manuscripts alleged in support of a reading, we must not forget to take into the account how many have been actually collated: for a number that is great in respect to the epistles, may be small with regard to the Gospels, almost twice as many manuscripts of the latter having been collated as the former. Seven manuscripts of the Revelation is a great number, the same number of the epistles is small, and of the Gospels very inconsiderable: the whole number therefore in each must be counted before we can draw a conclusion.

10. When only a few manuscripts have a reading that might easily arise from an oversight of the copyist, it is of no importance, and may generally be considered as an error.

11. In comparing two different readings, we must always examine which of the two could most easily arise from a mistake or correction of the transcriber; readings of this kind being generally spurious, whereas those which give occasion to the mistake or correction are commonly genuine. Of the following different readings, Acts xx. 28.  $\Theta\epsilon\upsilon$ ,  $\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\upsilon$ ,  $\chi\rho\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\upsilon \Theta\epsilon\upsilon$ ,  $\Theta\epsilon\upsilon \kappa\alpha\iota \kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\upsilon$ ,  $\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\upsilon \kappa\alpha\iota \Theta\epsilon\upsilon$ , the first is probably the true reading, and all the others are to be considered as corrections or scholia, because  $\Theta\epsilon\upsilon$  might easily give occasion to any of these, whereas none could so easily give occasion to  $\Theta\epsilon\upsilon$ . If St. Luke wrote  $\Theta\epsilon\upsilon$ , the origin of  $\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\upsilon$  and  $\chi\rho\iota\varsigma$  may be explained either as corrections of the text, or as marginal notes, because

because 'the blood of God' is a very extraordinary expression; but if he had written κυρις, it is inconceivable how any one should alter it into θες, and on this latter supposition the great number of different readings is inexplicable. It seems as if different transcribers had found a difficulty in the passage, and that each corrected according to his own judgment<sup>9</sup>. Another instance to which the rule may be applied is Math. xxiii. 25. to the readings ακρασιας, ακαθαρσιας, αδικιας<sup>10</sup>.

12. The foregoing rule may be most advantageously applied to passages where there are three, four, or still more different readings, one of which has a kind of central position, from which all the others might naturally flow<sup>11</sup>. As examples of this kind have been given in the ninth section, I will add only one taken from Luke xxiv. 17. and arrange the readings in the following order, that the original reading may be the more conspicuous.

περιπατοντες σκυθρωποι

περιπατοντες και εσε σκυθρωποι

περιπατοντες και εησαν σκυθρωποι.

All three afford an adequate sense; the first is the reading of the Codex Cantabrigiensis, the second that of our common editions, the third is found in the Codex Stephani η, was approved by Beza, and has been since discovered in the Coptic version<sup>12</sup>. Now the common reading και εσε occupies the middle rank, and might easily give birth to the first and third reading. The common construction τινες οι λογοι ετοις αντιβαλλετε προς αλληλους, και εσε σκυθρωποι, is not the most elegant; some of the transcribers therefore instead of εσε wrote εησαν, a correction which really improves the passage, but which would hardly have taken place if no εσε had stood in the original; while others, with the same view of improving the passage, omitted και εσε, to which they could have had no temptation, if και εησαν had been the original reading. Hence we may reasonably conclude that the middle reading is the genuine, and the two others corrections. I will add the following examples, to which the reader may



may himself apply the foregoing rule. *Matth. ix. 18.* αρχων εις ελθων, αρχων τις ελθων, αρχων εισελθων, αρχων προσελθων, and αρχων προσηλθεν.—*Mark i. 16.* αυτε τε Σιμωνος, τε Σιμωνος, αυτε.—*Luke xxiii. 42.* οταν ελθης εν τη βασιλεια σου, οταν ελθης εις την βασιλειαν σου, εν τη βασιλεια σου, εν τη ημερα της ελευσεως σου.—*Luke xxiv. 17.* see my *History of the Resurrection*<sup>13</sup>. *Acts v. 24.*—*v. 36.* προσεκληθη, προσεκληθη, προσεκολληθη.

The above-mentioned arrangement of various readings may sometimes give rise to a probable conjecture, for instance, we find *Rom. vii. 25.*

ευχαριστω τῷ Θεῷ  
and η χαρις τῷ Θεῷ.

It may be asked whether the original reading were *ευ, χαρις τῷ Θεῷ.*

13. If for a passage, that is not absolutely necessary to the construction, various readings are found that differ materially from each other, we have reason to suspect its authenticity, and that all the readings are interpolations of transcribers, who have attempted by different methods to supply the seeming deficiency of the original. *Acts v. 41.* we find in eleven of the best manuscripts *υπερ τε ονοματος* without any further addition, a phrase which signifies ‘for the name’s sake,’ that is, in the idiom of the Rabbins, ‘for God’s sake.’ But after *ονοματος* is added in our printed editions *αυτε*, and in the manuscripts we find not less than six different additions. 1. *Ιησ.* 2. *τε Ιησ.* 3. *Ιησ Χριστε.* 4. *τε Χριστε.* 5. *τε Κυριε Ιησ.* 6. *τε Κυριε.* Here it must be obvious to every one that these different readings are interpolations of different transcribers. *Rom. i. 32.* the reading of our printed text, which in my opinion admits a satisfactory explanation, appeared even to Locke to be unintelligible: transcribers therefore, to rescue the passage from obscurity, have inserted after *επιγινωσκεις* in the Vulgate *non intellexerunt*, in the Codex Claromontanus and Codex Sangermanensis *κα. ιγνωσαν*, and in the Codex Amundi *κα. συνηκαν*. Now these manuscripts are of good authority, but their evidence

dence is here contradictory. But this rule must not be carried to the extreme, nor is a single variation sufficient to justify our suspicion of a word or phrase, though its omission affects not the sense, or even though the construction would be improved by its absence: for in a book, that has been so frequently transcribed as the New Testament, mistakes were unavoidable, and therefore a single deviation alone can lead to no immediate conclusion.

14. An interpolation is sometimes betrayed by the circumstance of its being delivered in the language of a later church. In the time of the Apostles the word Christ was never used as the proper name of a person, but as an epithet expressive of the ministry of Jesus, and was frequently applied as synonymous to 'Son of God.' The expression therefore 'Christ is the Son of God,' Acts viii. 37. is a kind of tautology, and is almost as absurd as to say Christ is the Messiah, that is, the anointed is the anointed. But the word being used in later ages as a proper name, this impropriety was not perceived by the person who obtruded the passage on the text.

15. If one or more words, that may be considered as an addition to a passage, are found only in manuscripts, but in none of the most antient versions, nor in the quotations of the early fathers, we have reason to suspect an interpolation. Acts viii. 39. πνευμα [αγιον επε-  
πεσεν επι τον ευναχον, αγγελος δε] Κυρις ηρπασε τον Φιλιππου,  
is an instance of this kind, where the words between the crotchets are probably spurious.

Though readings which convey no meaning whatever are at all times to be ascribed to the negligence of transcribers, yet the obscurity or singularity of a word is not sufficient foundation to reject it. On the contrary, when of two different readings the one is difficult and unusual, the other easy and common, we may always suspect the authenticity of the latter.

17. Beside the rules which are applicable to the New Testament in general, there are others which must be

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applied to each book in particular, being derived either from the peculiarities of the style of their respective authors, or from accidental circumstances, they have attended the preservation and transcription of the books themselves. I have observed in a preceding section, that in criticising the text of a classic writer, who attends to propriety and elegance of language, the principles by which we must direct our judgement, are often the reverse of those that are proper, when we investigate the authenticity of a reading in an author, who is regardless of his style, and not master of the language in which he wrote. We cannot judge of the flights of genius as of creeping prose, or of a construction that is contracted and nervous, as of one that is diffuse and weak. Horace and Ovid, Tacitus and Cicero, Cicero and Pliny, must be criticised by rules that are totally distinct from each other. Their peculiarities extend even to grammatical constructions; for in the language of Cicero *haud scio an* is in that of Pliny *haud scio an non*, and vice versa: in reading therefore a manuscript of one of these authors, and deciding on the authenticity of a passage, whether *non* has been improperly added, or improperly omitted by the copyist, we must be guided by the known practice of the author. In the same manner, to determine whether *εὐθὺς* and *εὐθέως*, which are so frequently found in the Gospel of St. Mark, are to be ascribed to the author, or to a transcriber, we need only inquire into the general manner of St. Mark's writing, which abounding on the whole with superfluous expressions leads of course to a decision in favour of the former. *Οταν αναστει*, Mark xii. 23. which, as being an actual pleonasm, and for that reason omitted in some of the best manuscripts, I should make no scruple to condemn as spurious, if it were in the epistles of St. Paul, is not therefore to be rejected from the Gospel of St. Mark. In the epistle to the Hebrews we are not always justified in correcting even a manifest error, because it may proceed not from a transcriber, but the translator: an instance of this kind is found, ch. xii. 15. where the transla-

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tor has used *ενοχλη* for *εν χολη*, the reading of the Septuagint. In translating from the original Hebrew, he probably referred to the Septuagint<sup>4</sup>, where he found EN-XOAH, which he might easily mistake for ENOXAH, as the meaning of this word is admirably suited to the passage; and as the concurrence of all the manuscripts confirms the common reading, I presume not to hazard a critical conjecture. It was the custom of St. John to repeat the words of the preceding clause: the reading therefore *και εσμεν*, 1 John iii. 1. which is found in many manuscripts and versions after *κληθωμεν*, though not in our printed editions, is probably genuine.

Lastly, accidental circumstances, that have attended the preservation of the several books of the New Testament, must be taken into the account, as much greater latitude may be given to critical conjecture in works, that have been corrupted or negligently copied, than in those of which we have faithful transcripts. No book of the New Testament has suffered in this respect so much as the Gospel of St. Luke, and none therefore requires in a higher degree the aid of critical conjecture. Causes unknown to us must have had peculiar influence on this Gospel, which has been more vitiated by antient copyists, than the other production of this Evangelist, the Acts of the Apostles; though the latter has been more corrupted by modern editors, who have inserted in the text interpolations unwarranted by the authority of a single manuscript<sup>5</sup>.



**INTRODUCTION**  
**TO THE**  
**NEW TESTAMENT.**

**BY**  
**JOHN DAVID MICHAELIS,**  
**LATE PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF GOTTINGEN, &c.**

**TRANSLATED FROM**  
**THE FOURTH EDITION OF THE GERMAN.**

**AND**  
**CONSIDERABLY AUGMENTED WITH NOTES,**  
**EXPLANATORY AND SUPPLEMENTAL.**

**BY**  
**HERBERT MARSH, B.D.**  
**FELLOW OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.**

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**VOL. I. PART II.**  
**CONTAINING THE TRANSLATOR'S NOTES TO THE**  
**FIRST VOLUME.**





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# N O T E S.

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## C H A P T E R I.

*Title to the writings of the New Covenant.*

### PAGE 1.

1. **P**ROBABLY in the second century, for the word Testamentum was used in that sense by the Latin Christians before the expiration of that period, as appears from Tertullianus adv. Marcionem, Lib. IV. c. 1. But the first instance where *καινη διαθηκη* actually occurs in the sense of 'Writings of the New Covenant' is in Origenes *περι αρχων*, Lib. IV. c. 1. (Tom. I. p. 156. ed. Benedict.) for though Clement of Alexandria (Stromat. Lib. II. Tom. I. p. 444. ed. Potter) uses the expression *καινη διαθηκη*, it appears from the context that he understood it in the sense of covenant, not the writings which contain that covenant.

### PAGE 2.

2. This work of our author is written in German, and has the following title, Michaelis Erklärung des Briefs an die Hebräer. Tom. I. 1780. Tom. II. 1786. 2<sup>d</sup>. ed. He means probably to refer to his note on ch. vii. 22. where he explains *διαθηκη* by covenant, and gives the same reason why it cannot signify testament.

3. But if the old Latin translator understood *διαθηκη* in the sense of covenant or bond, why did he use testamentum, and not rather *foedus* or *pactum*; and is it not extraordinary, when a word admits of two senses, that a translator should adopt the term which conveys the for-

mer sense, if he intended to express the latter? It appears from this very circumstance that the old Latin translator actually mistook the meaning of *διαθήκη*, and rendered it by a word, which, though it corresponds to the Greek in one sense, is an improper translation of *διαθήκη*, at least in the Old Testament. This is confirmed by the authority of Jerom himself: for when he corrected the old Latin version, or rather versions, and published a new edition, he altered *testamentum* in the Old Testament to either *foedus* or *pactum*. See Sabatier *Biblia Sacra*, Tom. I. p. 33. where the old Latin version and Jerom's corrected text, or as it is commonly called, the Vulgate, are printed in parallel columns. On the other hand, the learned father acknowledges in his commentary on Mal. ch. 2. that *testamentum*, as used in the old Latin version, must be understood in most places to signify a covenant; but if it gradually acquired this and other senses in church Latin, no argument can be derived from this circumstance, that its introduction was not founded on error.

In fact, when our author applies the appellation of a "harsh Grecism" (for *this*, and no other is the term, which he has used) to the translation of *διαθήκη* by *testamentum*, even where *διαθήκη* must signify a covenant, he does nothing more than use a learned expression, which, when put into plain English, signifies a "a great mistake." This will appear more clearly, if we take a case in the English language. The Latin word "vir" may be translated into English either by "man" or by "spouse," according as the context requires; in the same manner as *διαθήκη* which signifies literally "dispositio," (from *διατίθημι* dispono) may signify either an arrangement intended to take place immediately (*foedus*), or an arrangement intended to take place after one's death (*testamentum*). But if a schoolboy should translate "vir nobilissimus, M. T. Cicero," by "The most noble spouse M. T. Cicero," the application of the term *harsh Latinism* to this translation, would not prevent his master from saying, that it was an egregious blunder. Equally great

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was the mistake, when *μνησθῆσομαι τῆς διαθήκης μου*, Gen. ix. 15. words ascribed to a Being incapable of death, were translated by “*memor ero testamenti mei* :” nor will the use of the term *barbarism Grecism* be sufficient to cover the mistake. The Romans certainly never used “*Testamentum*” to denote a contract between two living parties: the word occurs frequently in the Roman law writings, and is always taken in the sense of last will or testament. It is useless to make quotations from the old Latin version in behalf of the other meaning: for, when the question is in agitation, whether the author of the old Latin version (whose innumerable barbarisms prove that he was not a Roman) rightly applied “*Testamentum*” in the translation of *one* passage of the Septuagint, a similar application of *Testamentum*, in an hundred other instances, by the same author, cannot be alleged in vindication of that passage, without a manifest *politio principii*. If a man is wrong in one instance, a repetition of the same mistake, however frequent, will not set him right again. In short, the translation of *διαθήκη* by *Testamentum*, is only *one* among the many instances of error arising from bald translation. Thus *ἀπο βαρείων ἐλεφαντινῶν*, Ps. xlv. 8. (xlv. 8. in the Hebrew) which is rightly translated in the Vulgate “*domibus eburneis*,” and in our version “*out of the ivory palaces*,” had been rendered by the old Latin translator “*a gravibus eburneis*.” He mistook the substantive *βαρίς* for the adjective *βαρύς*: and then he translated literally, without considering whether he was producing sense or nonsense, just as he did in regard to *διαθήκη*. Of this blunder “*a gravibus eburneis*,” Jerom himself complains. Again at Gen. xv. 15. where the genuine Greek text is *συ δε ἀπελευση προς τας πατερας σου ἐν εἰρήνῃ, τάφεις ἐν γῆρᾳ καλῇ*, we find in the old Latin version “*tu autem ibis ad patres tuos nutritus (instead of sepultus) in senecta bona*.” Here is a confusion of *τάφεις* and *τραφεις*: either the translator himself mistook the one for the other; or he used a manuscript, in which the mistake had been made to his hand. In either case,

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it is manifest that he translated without much thought; or he would not have described a man as going to his fathers "*fattened* at a good old age." He has even adopted the reading *יוֹר* instead of *יוֹרֵר* at Ps. xvi. 14. (xvii. 14. in the Hebrew), and has used *fuilla*, where he ought to have used *filius*.—We have no reason therefore to wonder, that he falsely translated *διαθήκη*.

4. This is an oversight in our author: for the quotation which he produces is taken not from the Vulgate, but the old Italic. The distinction is of importance on the present occasion, because the very word, for which the quotation is made, is not used in this passage in the Vulgate. The mistake however is easy to be explained, as in Sabatier's edition both texts are printed in the same page.

### PAGE 3.

5. St. Paul, 2 Cor. iii. 16. uses indeed the expression *καινη διαθήκη*, but the term is there applied to the New Covenant, of which he was a minister, not to the writings of the Covenant. The same may be said of the other passages in St. Paul's epistles, where *καινη* and *ια διαθήκη* are used.

6. This is no contradiction to 2 Pet. iii. 16.

7. Whether those epistles of St. Paul, which are now extant, are all that the Apostle ever wrote, is a question which has frequently afforded matter of serious dispute. Dr. Lardner, Vol. VI. p. 663—672. maintains the affirmative; but his arguments will be answered by our author in the particular introduction to St. Paul's epistles. N.B. whenever reference is made in these notes to the works of Dr. Lardner, is to be understood the complete edition of his works in eleven volumes octavo, published in 1788.

8. Dr. Benson, in his Essay on Inspiration, has an observation which implies the same distinction. See Bp. Watson's Tracts, Vol. IV. p. 471.

## PAGE 4.

9. This remark presupposes that the Gospel of St. Matthew was written before the first epistle to the Corinthians, which is affirmed by Dr. Owen, but denied by Fabricius, Mill, Lardner, and Semler. Besides, if St. Matthew wrote in the dialect of Palestine, as our author supposes, it would have been useless to have referred the Corinthians to a work written in a language, to which they were utter strangers.

## CHAPTER II.

## SECT. I.

## PAGE 4.

1. The present section is in the original preceded by that which follows in the translation; but the reader will pardon this inversion, because the subject, which is discussed in this section, relating merely to the importance of the inquiry, it is rather a preface or introduction, than a part of the inquiry itself.

2. Our author makes here a proper distinction between two questions that are often confounded, viz. the divine origin of the Christian doctrine, and the divine origin of the books which contain that doctrine. The distinction must appear important to our author, as he had himself fallen into the same error in the first edition, but has here corrected it.

3. The words here used in the German are *gethan haben sollen*, which, according to the idiom of that language, signify only 'are said to have performed.' It appeared therefore to our author a matter of doubt. See Lardner's Works, Vol. VII. p. 154.

## PAGE 5.

4. I have here written *גברין* not *גברו* as it stands in the original, because though Chaldee nouns in *ג* are

are frequently written by apocope without the Tau, (Schaafs *Opus Aramæum*, p. 14. *Michaelis Grammatica Chaldaica*, p. 67.) yet in every Lexicon they are written with the Tau; it would therefore create confusion in consulting Buxtorf or Castet, if the word appeared under a different shape. And our author himself, in the chapter relating to the language of the New Testament, writes it not only with the Tau, but with the paragodic Aleph.

5. The explanation of *δυναμις* as a Chaldaism in the sense of miracle, necessarily implies the three following conditions. 1. That the Chaldee word, to which reference is made, corresponds to the Greek in such a manner, that in translations the one is used as similar to the other, for otherwise the two words have no connexion. 2. That the Chaldee word is used in a more extensive meaning than the Greek word in classic authors. 3. That Jewish writers, accustomed to this extensive meaning in Chaldee, used the corresponding Greek word in the same latitude. Now in the present instance the two first conditions fail entirely. 1. I have compared with the Septuagint all those passages which Buxtorf in his *Lexicon Chald. Rabbinicum* has produced from the Chaldee paraphrase, in which *גְּבוּרָה* is used; but in not one of these instances is *δυναμις* used in the Greek version, though both Greek and Chaldee are translations of the same Hebrew. I have likewise compared with the Greek Testament all the examples given in Castelli *Lexicon Heptaglotton*, where *ܕܢܐܚܐ* is used in the Syriac version; but in none of these instances is *δυναμις* to be so found in Greek. 2. The sense of miracle is ascribed to *גְּבוּרָה* neither by Buxtorf nor Castet, and the elder Buxtorf devoted his whole life to the study of Rabbinical writings. The inference therefore of course falls to the ground, as far as it depends on these premisses. It might with more reason be termed a Syriaism, for *ܕܢܐܚܐ* is used for *σημεια* and *τεματα* in the Syriac version of the Greek Testament. See Acts ii. 19. 22. 43. iv. 30. vii. 36. xv. 12. 2 Cor. xii. 12. But here again the first condition fails, for *δυναμις* is rendered by *ܕܢܐܚܐ* even in

in those places where there is most reason to suppose that *dyvamis* signifies a miracle, such as Mark vi. 5. a text on which our author grounds one of his principal arguments.

6. Our author here alludes to a work entitled *Paraphrasıs und Anmerkungen uber die Briefe Pauli an die Galater, Epheser, &c.* Gottingen 1769. The note contains nothing more than an explanation of *dyvamis* in the sense here given, which he grounds on the following texts, Matth. xiv. 2. Mark vi. 5. 1 Cor. ii. 4. Heb. ii. 4.

## PAGE 8.

7. It was necessary to retain in the translation the German title, because it has acquired the force of a proper name, in the same manner as Herbelot *Bibliothèque Orientale*. It is a periodical publication of our author, begun in 1771, and concluded in 1783; and consists of twenty-three volumes, besides the general Index. It was renewed in 1786, under the title *Neue Orientalische Bibliothek*, eight volumes have been published, and the work is still continued. Its merits are too generally known to need any commendation. In the place, to which he refers, he gives a short extract from Dr. Semler's *Paraphrase*, but a translation of it is here unnecessary, as the *Paraphrase* itself is written in Latin.

8. Dr. Semler, who died March 14th, 1791, was principal Professor of Divinity in the University of Halle.

9. But as our author himself acknowledges that the conclusions which he has drawn in the preceding part of this section depend on the supposition that Dr. Semler's hypothesis is ungrounded, a short confutation of it would not have been improper even on the present occasion, especially as he has never given it in any part of his very numerous writings. This subject has lately very much engaged the attention of the learned, and those who are acquainted with German literature will find



find the most information in Eichhorn's *Allgemeine Bibliothek*, Vol. II. p. 757. and *Paulus Repertorium*, Vol. I. p. 266. and Vol. II. p. 273.

10. The world is at length favoured with this long expected commentary of our learned author, which was lately published under the following title: *Michaelis Anmerkungen zu seiner Uebersetzung des Neuen Testaments*, Vol. 3<sup>d</sup>. Göttingen 1791, which volume contains his notes on the epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, and Ephesians. As the work is written in German, and our author has in some respects, altered his opinion since the publication of the last edition of his *Introduction to the New Testament*, I will subjoin a short extract, because every reader must be curious to know the sentiments of so celebrated a writer, on so important a subject.

P. 266, 267. "With respect to the gifts enumerated 1 Cor. xii. 7—11. and there ascribed to the operation of the Spirit, there are three different opinions. 1. That they were all, without exception, supernatural. This opinion, which is the most antient and most general, seems at first sight to be the most probable; for it is said, v. 11. all these worketh that one and the self-same spirit. It is really difficult to give any other explanation, and yet on the other hand inconceivable how supernatural endowments could have been abused in the manner which we find described in the 14th. chapter. Besides, other objections may be made to this opinion. 2. That some were natural, others supernatural; but here again occurs a difficulty, as they are all ascribed to the same spirit. 3. That all these endowments were natural. This opinion seems to me to be improbable."

Having stated the difficulties attending the two first opinions, and objected to the last as improbable, he delivers, p. 268—271. his own sentiments. He abides by the notion that certain supernatural endowments really existed in the first Christian communities, but admits that the number of enthusiasts, who imagined themselves possessed of the gifts of the Holy Ghost, was superior to

those who had really these endowments. He then examines their abuse in the Corinthian community, and endeavours to explain why St. Paul treated this abuse with so much lenity. But as the question in the present chapter of his Introduction to the N. T. relates only to the Gift of Tongues, I will confine the translation of his Commentary to what he says on that subject.

P. 271, 272. "Still more extraordinary is the ridiculous disorder which prevailed in the Corinthian community in the use of the Gift of Tongues: and it is wholly inconceivable how this could have happened, if all those, who were able to speak foreign languages, had received their knowledge from the immediate interposition of the Holy Ghost. For they used their talents in the most irrational manner, and merely through ostentation, without the least benefit either to themselves or their hearers. They not only spake in languages, which no one of the community understood, but frequently when no interpreter was present to explain their meaning: and this was the case not with one, two, or three persons only, though even this must appear extraordinary, but a very great number of speakers in foreign languages, under the pretence of edification, though really with a view of exciting astonishment, harangued in this assembly: and as it appears that several spake at the same instant, the unavoidable consequence was a general confusion. Can we suppose then that persons like these were under the influence of the Holy Spirit? They even expected that the whole assembly should say Amen to prayers, which they were unable to comprehend, and, what is still more, which the orators themselves were frequently unable to explain. Are talents like these the gifts of the Holy Ghost?"

He then proceeds to enumerate the several instances where the gift of languages was communicated, referring to Acts ii. 4—24. x. 44—46. xii. 15—18. xv. 7—9. xix. 6, and adds, "I doubt not that in the Corinthian community likewise there were some persons who had received this gift."

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Here are several circumstances that are worthy of notice. Our author produces three opinions with respect to the gifts in general mentioned in the first epistle to the Corinthians, one of which must necessarily be adopted: but he rejects the last as improbable, without pointing out the improbability, and at the same time produces arguments to shew the improbability of the two first. With respect to the Gift of Tongues in particular, as it existed in the Corinthian community, and is described in the fourteenth chapter, he confesses that St. Paul cannot possibly allude to persons who were under the influence of the Holy Spirit. As far therefore as relates to this epistle, it is the same as if no person in that community had received the power of speaking languages by supernatural means, since he owns that the 14th chapter applies not to any such person. Nor does he ground his opinion, that some few of the Christians of Corinth had really this talent, on the epistle itself, but gives it as a mere induction from the passages which he quotes from the Acts of the Apostles.

11. The character given by Lucian to the Christians of Syria, in the place to which our author refers, is the following: *ἦν τοίνυν παρελθὴ τις εἰς αὐτὰς γῆρας καὶ τεχνίτης ἀνθρώπος, καὶ πράγμασι χρῆσθαι δυναμένος, αὐτὰ καὶ μάλα πλοσιος ἐν βραχεὶ ἐγενεὶο ἰδιωταῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐγχανων.* It seems therefore extraordinary that Lucian should be produced as an evidence in their favour.

12. *Æsculapius.*

#### PAGE 9.

13. In the note to this passage in Reitz's Lucian is the following remark: 'unde zelus Christianorum in detegendis fraudibus et imposturis patescit:' but the question in our author's Introduction relates not to the incredulity of the Christians in the heathen mythology, which the very name of Christian necessarily implies, but to their caution in regard to the admission of spurious writings as apostolical. Nor can this passage from Lucian's *Alexander or Pseudomantis*, which is an account of

of the artifices practised by Alexander, the Cagliostro of the second century, be produced as a proof of Lucian's own opinion, for he relates merely as an historian what was said and done by Alexander.

14. Acts xxviii. 30. *εμεινε δε ο Παυλος διετιαν ολην εν ιδιω μισθωματι.* The two years therefore were already elapsed when St. Luke finished his history: how many more were elapsed it is difficult to determine with certainty. See Note 2. to chap. iii. § 3.

## PAGE 10.

15. Other passages are sometimes quoted from the epistles as referring to the prophecy of Christ; but some of them cannot possibly allude to the destruction of Jerusalem, especially 1 Thess. iv. 14—18. v. 1—4.

## PAGE 12.

16. The expression used by Titus to the Jews is very remarkable, *τηρησω δε τον υγον υμιν και μη θελωσι.* Josephi Bell. Judaic. Lib. VI. cap. ii. §. 4.

17. To prevent mistakes it is necessary to observe, that though our author quotes Dr. Less's Truth of the Christian Religion, he means in fact his History of Religion, both books having been formerly published under the same title. Dr. Less's evidence for the authenticity of the New Testament is contained in his Geschichte der Religion, or History of Religion, p. 485—634. of the 2<sup>d</sup>. ed. printed at Gottingen in 1786. It would be impossible to give an abridgement of it in these notes, as the author himself is very concise, but the whole deserves to be translated in a separate work.

## PAGE 13.

18. This single view may be likewise had in the works of Dr. Lardner, Vol. V. p. 341—419.

## S E C T. II.

## PAGE 14.

1. In the German original, Vol. XXXI. is an erratum for Vol. XXI.

2. Letter V. Vol. II. p. 349—351. of the 4<sup>th</sup>. edit.

## PAGE 15.

3. The result of this investigation is the following. From the epistle of Barnabas no inference can be deduced that he had read any part of the N. T. From the genuine epistle, as it is called, of Clement of Rome, it may be inferred that Clement had read the first epistle to the Corinthians. From the Shepherd of Hermas no inference whatsoever can be drawn. From the epistles of Ignatius it may be concluded that he had read St. Paul's epistle to the Ephesians, and that there existed in his time evangelical writings, though it cannot be shewn that he has quoted from them. From Polycarp's epistle to the Philippians it appears that he had heard of St. Paul's epistle to that community, and that he quotes a passage which is in the first epistle to the Corinthians, and another which is in the epistle to the Ephesians: but no positive conclusion can be drawn with respect to any other epistle, or any of the four Gospels. Dr. Lefs himself observes, that this candid confession must deprive the adversaries of Christianity of a really formidable objection, and make them more ready to admit such arguments for the authenticity of the N. T. as are founded on truth. Lefs Geschichte der Religion, p. 503—537. ed. 1786.

4. This objection made by the Orthodox to the Manichæans, which appears somewhat obscure, may be explained by the two following passages from Beausobre Hist. de Manichée et du Manichéisme, Tom. I. p. 291. nos heretiques recevoient les quatre evangiles, and again, p. 296. ils nioient que les Evangiles ayant été écrits par les auteurs dont ils portent les noms. For want of at-

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tention to this accurate distinction of Beaufobre, Mosheim, in his *Commentary de rebus Christianorum ante Constantinum* M. p. 749. has attempted to confute Beaufobre, where no confutation was necessary.

## PAGE 16.

5. See Lardner's Works, Vol. III. p. 495.

6. Luke xiii. 29. The objection which Faustus makes to St. Luke is found indeed in that chapter of Augustinus contra Faustum, to which our author refers; but the quotation, which immediately follows, is taken from the preceding chapter.

## PAGE 17.

7. See Mosheim de rebus Christianorum ante Constantinum M. p. 746—750.

8. If Beaufobre, Vol. I. p. 298. really expresses this opinion, which is however a matter of doubt, he directly contradicts what he had said in general terms, and without making any exception, p. 294. See above Note 4.

## PAGE 18.

9. Though no inference can be drawn from this passage that Faustus admitted the authenticity of St. John's Gospel, because he might have used an *argumentum ad hominem*, yet to conclude from it, with our author, that he denied its authenticity, is equally ungrounded; and Faustus even supports on the silence of St. John, his objection to the relation of St. Matthew.

## PAGE 19.

10. Beaufobre, who devoted a great part of his life to the study of Manicheism, is of a different opinion, for he says, *On a de bonnes raisons de croire que Manes favoit la langue Grecque.* See the reasons which he has alleged in his *Histoire de Manichée et du Manicheisme*, Tom. I. p. 95.

## PAGE 20.

11. If we may credit the accounts of Erasmus, Augustin himself was in the very same predicament, ‘Augustinus Græce nesciit, aut, siquid attigit, non magnopere fuit usui ad Græcorum commentarios evolvendos. Erasmi Epist. ad Eckium, Lib. II. Ep. 26. Tom. III. p. 98. ed. Basileæ 1540, folio. [Indeed Augustin himself confesses that he knew little or nothing of Greek. “Ego quidem Græcæ linguæ perparum affecutus sum et prope nihil.” Augustinus contra Petilianum, Lib. II. cap. 33.]

12. This quotation is taken from Augustinus contra Faustum, Lib. XVII. cap. 1.

## PAGE 21.

13. See Mosheim de rebus Christian. ante Constant. M. p. 755—829, and Beausobre Hist. de Manichée, Tom. I. p. 465.

14. Faustus, though he denied the authenticity of the four Gospels, still professed himself a follower of Christ, and said that he was indebted to Manes for his being a Christian. ‘Quare indeficientes ego præceptori meo refero gratias, qui me similiter labantem retinuit ut essem odie Christianus.

Augustinus contra Faustum, Lib. XIX. cap. 5.

15. For an account of the Manichæan criticism of the Greek Testament, see Beausobre Hist. de Manichée, Tom. I. p. 299—301.

## PAGE 22.

16. Contra Faustum, Lib. XXXIII. cap. 6.

## PAGE 23.

17. Namely, in the public dispute, which he held at Calcar in Mesopotamia with Archelaus, bishop of that city. See the Acta disputationis Archelai episcopi Mesopotamiæ cum Manete, ed. Zaccagni, Romæ 1698, 4to. See also on this subject Beausobre Hist. de Manichée, Discours



Discours preliminaire, p. 5. and Liv. I. ch. 9, 10, 12, 13. compared with Mosheim de rebus Christian. ante Constant. M. p. 729. A list of the writings composed by Manes may be seen in Lardner's Works, Vol. III. p. 430—437, but they are no longer extant, except a fragment of the Latin translation of his Epistola fundamenti preserved in the essay of Augustin against this epistle, and two Greek fragments printed in Fabricii Bibliotheca Græca, Tom. I. p. 281—285.

## S E C T. III.

## PAGE 23.

1. Gregory of Nazianzus, a writer of the fourth century, as well as Eusebius, has made the very same division of the books of the New Testament in an Iambic poem addressed to Seleucus (Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera, Tom. II. p. 194. ed. Colonienfis, 1680.)

Οὐκ ἀπασα βιβλος ἀσφαλὴς  
 Ἡ σέμνον ὄνομα τῆς γραφῆς κεκτημένη.  
 Εἰσὶν γὰρ, εἰσὶν ἐσθ' ὅτε ψευδωνυμοὶ  
 Βιβλοὶ, τικεῖς μὲν ἐμμεσοὶ, καὶ γείτονες  
 (Ὡς ἂν τις εἰποὶ τῶν ἀληθείας λόγων.

Even so early as the time of Origen, this triple division took place, for speaking of the book called *Κηρυγμα Πέτρῃ* (Origenis Comment. in Joannem, Tom. XIV. in princip. Tom. 2. p. 211. ed. Huetii Colonienfis) he has the following observation, *ἐξίλαζοντες περὶ τὰ βιβλία, πότερον ποτε γνήσιον εἴναι, ἢ νοθόν, ἢ μίκτον*, where *μίκτον* corresponds to the *ἀντιλεγόμενον* of Eusebius, and the *ἐμμεσον* of Gregory.

## PAGE 24.

2. Eusebius has been frequently censured for having used *ἀντιλεγόμενα* in a very indeterminate manner, sometimes as opposed both to *ὁμολογούμενα* and *νοθα*, at other

times as comprehending the latter. Perhaps he cannot wholly be rescued from the charge of inaccuracy: but if we reflect that the notions expressed by the words 'genuine' and 'spurious' resemble two fixed points, and that conveyed by the term 'uncertain,' a moveable point that vibrates between them, it is no wonder if its relation varies in proportion as it approaches to, or recedes from one or the other.

3. See Eusebii Hist. Eccles. Lib. III. cap. 39.

4. Our author has shewn great judgement in confining his general demonstration to the *ομολογημενα*, for had he included the *αντιλεγόμενα*, his conclusions would have been vague and indecisive. The force of his arguments, when applied to the first class, consists in the following circumstance, that when a book is shewn to have been universally received as genuine, it must have been acknowledged as such by those persons or communities, to whom it was immediately addressed, on whose evidence the whole depends. But they are wholly inapplicable to the second class, because among those who denied the authenticity of a book of the N. T. might be those very persons, whose testimony alone could determine the truth. The particular arguments for the authenticity of *αντιλεγόμενα*, will be given in the second part. The reader will likewise observe the clearness and precision with which our author has arranged his several arguments in the following sections of this chapter. Perhaps the general proof of the authenticity of the New Testament was never stated in a more forcible manner.

PAGE 28.

5. This is admirably displayed by Lardner, Vol. VII. p. 30—137.

PAGE 29.

6. See Lardner's Works, Vol. VII. p. 29.

7. Even the learned Origen was restrained with difficulty from rushing into an unnecessary and voluntary martyrdom. See Eusebii Hist. Eccles. Lib. VI. cap. 2.

8. Our

8. Our author understands, with Grotius and Simon, by *παριστάμενος ὑπὲρ νεκρῶν*, 1 Cor. xv. 29. a vicarious baptism for the dead. Whether this vicarious baptism was practised in the first century and meant by the Apostle, it is difficult at present to determine, and Dr. Teller, one of the most sensible Expositors of the New Testament, candidly confesses, that he is unable to comprehend the meaning of the passage. This however is certain, that the custom was not unknown in the fourth century, as appears from Chrysostom's fortieth Homily to the first epistle to the Corinthians: and in the same century, it was not unusual to defer Baptism till the approach of death, and if the patient died suddenly, to baptise even the deceased. See the eighteenth rule of the Council of Carthage, held A.D. 419. in the *Codex Canonum ecclesiæ Africanæ*, p. 340. ed. Justelli. Parisiis, 1661, 4<sup>to</sup>.

## S E C T. IV.

## PAGE 30.

1. The two following sections form only one in the original German, which I have divided, because the former part contains a statement of the questions to be examined in the remaining sections of this chapter, the latter part an examination of the first of these questions.

## S E C T. VI.

## PAGE 32.

1. See Note 3. to Sect. 2. of this Chapter. The reason why our author has not quoted Clement will appear from the latter part of this section.

2. Not only the adversaries, but also the friends of Christianity have suspected the authenticity of the writings ascribed to the apostolic fathers, notwithstanding the immense erudition bestowed on them by Cotelier, Usher, Pearson, Le Clerc, and others at the end of the last, and

beginning of the present century. Lardner has clearly shewn that all the works of Clement are spurious, except his first epistle to the Corinthians; but even that is suspected by our author, and Dr. Semler, who has made a more particular study of ecclesiastical history perhaps than any man that ever lived, doubts the authenticity of all the writings ascribed to the apostolic fathers. See Semleri Hist. Eccles. selecta capita, Tom. I. p. 25. Commentarii Historici de antiquo Christianorum statu, Tom. I. p. 39, 40. and his Novæ Observationes, quibus studiosius illustrantur potiora capita hist. et rel. Christ. usque ad Constantinum, p. 15, 24, 40. This at least is certain, that passages are found in these writings, which from the nature of the subjects could not have existed in the first century, and if they prove not the whole to be spurious, they prove at least, that these writings have been so interpolated, as to make it difficult to distinguish what is genuine from what is false.

3. The Works of Papias are no longer extant, and his evidence for the authenticity of certain books of the New Testament, viz. the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, the first epistle of St. John, and the first epistle of St. Peter, depends on the relation of Eusebius, Hist. Eccles. Lib. III. cap. 39. Compare Lardner's Works, Vol. II. p. 106—115. with Semler's Novæ Observationes, p. 95.

4. See Fabricii Bibl. Græca, Tom. V. p. 51—67. Mosheim de rebus Christian. ante Constantinum M. p. 322. Lardner's Works, Vol. II. p. 115—129. and Semler's Novæ Observ. p. 33, 34.

The frequent, though not constant difference between the quotations of Justin Martyr, taken from what he calls *Ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν Ἀποστόλων* (for he has not mentioned either the four Gospels in particular, or the names of the Evangelists, though he seldom quotes from a book of the Old Testament without naming the author) and those passages of the Greek Testament, from which they are supposed to be taken, is a subject, that has long engaged the attention of the learned, and various hypotheses have

have been formed, to account for so extraordinary a phenomenon. But none of them contribute in the least to explain the difficulty, except that of Stroth, a very learned and ingenious German, whose essay on this subject is printed in the first volume of Eichhorn's Repertorium. Mr. Stroth contends, that Justin took not his quotations from the four Gospels, but from the Gospel according to the Hebrews, which was written in the dialect of Palestine, and was in general use among the Christians of the East: of which Dr. Rosenmüller, in his Scholia in N. T. Tom. I. p. 4. ed. 3. says, *Strothius vir celeberrimus haud contemnendis rationibus probat usum esse Justinum eo, quod non tantum Nazaræis et Ebionæis, sed et omnibus primæ ætatis Christianis Palæstinensibus in usu fuisse videtur, Evangelio secundum Hebræos.* It is true, that if the force of these arguments be admitted (and they seem really convincing) we cannot produce Justin as an evidence for the four Gospels, but on the other hand no inference can be deduced to their disadvantage, since no man would conclude, that the Annals and Histories ascribed to Tacitus are spurious, because Aulus Gellius has never quoted from his writings, though frequently from those of Suetonius. In fact, the hypothesis of Mr. Stroth is a real advantage to the New Testament, for if Justin really took his quotations from the four Gospels, and the works of Justin be genuine, the Gospels themselves must have descended to us in a very corrupt state: and it is surely more advisable to give up a single evidence, when no injury arises from its loss, than to retain it at the expence of the sacred writings themselves.

5. In the twelve volumes of the second part of his *Credibility of the Gospel History*, Vol. II. III. IV. V. of the ed. of 1788, where the author, with immense labour and erudition, has produced the whole series of evidence for the authenticity of the N. T. from the time of the apostolic fathers down to the middle of the ninth century.

6. In his *Geschichte der Religion, or History of Religion,*

ligion, p. 485—634. Dr. Lefs has closed his evidence with Origen, and indeed further testimony is unnecessary, as that learned father has quoted from almost every part of the New Testament. It should be particularly observed, that Dr. Lefs has made an accurate distinction between two questions that are often confounded :

First, That of the Authenticity of the N. T. i. e. whether the books of the N. T. were written by the persons to whom they are ascribed. For this we have two kinds of evidence, external and internal. The external, which consists of the testimonies of ancient writers, forms the subject of the present, and three following sections : the internal is examined in the three last sections of this chapter.

Second, That of the Credibility of the N. T. i. e. admitting Matthew, Mark, &c. to be the authors, the credit due to their accounts. The former is shewn by Dr. Lefs, in his *Geschichte der Religion*, p. 485—634. the latter, p. 648—695. ; also by Dr. Harwood, in his *Introduction to the N. T.* Vol. I. ch. i. sect. 2. Dr. Lardner, though he has used the title ‘Credibility,’ has in the twelve volumes of the second part produced chiefly the external evidence for the former of these questions. In the first part he has produced the evidence for the latter question, as he has done also in his fifth and sixth sermons printed in Vol. X. ed. 1788.

PAGE 33.

7. Our author means perhaps, that it was not the practice of profane writers in that age to transcribe long passages : for simple quotations, or allusions to the works of other authors, were very common in the first, and beginning of the second century, as appears from the writings of the elder Pliny, Quintilian, Plutarch, &c. See Fabricii Biblioth. Lat. Tom. II. p. 209—239. 279—319. ed. Ernesti, and Fabricii Biblioth. Græca, Tom. IV. p. 374—392.

8. This omission appears more formidable to our author than it really deserves ; for, if Clement quoted  
not

not St. Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians in writing on the subject of the Resurrection, the only inference that can be deduced, is that he had never seen it, not that the epistle at that time did not exist. If Clement's epistle be genuine, it must have been written within twenty or thirty years after St. Paul wrote his first epistle to the Corinthians, and long before the several parts of the New Testament were collected into a volume. It is probable, that many years elapsed before the particular epistles, which St. Paul had written to the different communities, were known to the Christians in general : each epistle alludes to circumstances of time and place, which were less intelligible, and less interesting to other communities, than to that to which it was immediately addressed ; and as the Roman Christians had themselves received an epistle from St. Paul, they were perhaps less anxious to know what he had written to others. Besides, the primitive Christians were in general poor, notwithstanding Clement has been dignified with the title of Bishop and Pope ; transcripts were attended with expence ; the difficulty of communication in those ages infinitely greater than at present ; and when we reflect that, though the modern art of printing facilitates the distribution of copies in the highest possible degree, yet many of the most valuable productions of Germany, not excepting those written in Latin, are hardly known in England, it is easy to conceive that Clement had never seen perhaps the greatest part of St. Paul's epistles. These remarks are not designed as arguments, that St. Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians was actually unknown to Clement, but merely to remove the apprehensions, which might arise, if the contrary were true.

PAGE 35.

9. I have abridged the latter part of this section, as it is extremely tedious in the original, and contains nothing more than a repetition of our author's suspicions, that Clement's epistle is a forgery, which he grounds on no other argument, than the above-mentioned omission.

But



But this very circumstance might be rather applied as an argument for its authenticity, at least that it was not forged with a view of producing evidence for the antiquity of the New Testament, since in that case the allusions would have been more circumstantial. Dr. Lardner, who rejects the other writings of Clement, has very ably defended the authenticity of the epistle in question, Vol. II. p. 22—29. Another argument which has been hitherto overlooked, may be taken from the circumstance, that only a single manuscript is extant of this epistle, for had it been forged in later ages with a view of answering some particular purpose, it is probable that care would have been taken to distribute a considerable number of copies.

10. The date of Wetstein's edition of the two epistles of Clement, taken from a Syriac manuscript, I have left unaltered, because an edition of that year may be known to our author, though I have never heard of it. It appears however to be an erratum, for Wetstein first published them at the end of his Greek Testament, in 1752, and again separately in 1754; at all events the date is improperly chosen, since a work published in 1775 could not have been answered in 1753. See Walchii Bibliotheca Patristica, p. 212. Dr. Lardner's Dissertation is printed in the last volume of his works, p. 197—225.

## S E C T. VII.

### PAGE 35.

I. It is true that Dr. Lardner has taken little notice of those, who are called heretics, in his *Credibility of the Gospel History*; but he has written a particular treatise on this subject, which was not published till 1780, after the death of the learned writer, and is perhaps for that reason unknown to our author. It is contained in the ninth volume of his works, p. 219—518.

## PAGE 36.

2. For an account of Cerinthus see Eusebii Hist. Eccles. Lib. III. cap. 28. Mosheim de rebus Christ. ante Constant. M. p. 196—202. and Lardner's Works, Vol. IX. p. 319—330.

3. Tom. I. p. 113. ed. Petavii Coloniae 1682.

4. Namely a part of the above-mentioned passage from Epiphanius, *οσοι εν νομω δικαιουσθαι της χαριτος εξεπι-  
σταν* is taken from Galat. v. 4. To do justice to this argument, we must recollect that the quotation is not made by Cerinthus, but by Epiphanius, who relates, that the Cerinthians rejected the authority of St. Paul, because he preached the doctrine contained in this quoted passage. It follows therefore that the Cerinthians were acquainted with St. Paul's doctrine, not (from the relation of Epiphanius alone) that they had seen his epistle to the Galatians. Were any writings now extant of this short-lived sect, the question might be determined with greater certainty.

5. If we may credit the accounts of Epiphanius, they adopted only a part of St. Matthew's Gospel, *Χρωνται γαρ τω κατα Ματθαιον ευαγγελιω απο μερως και εχ-  
ολω*, Hæres. 28. cap. v. Tom. I. p. 113. ed. Colon.

6. *Δεχονται μεν και αυτοι το κατα Ματθαιον ευαγγελιον, τωτω γαρ και αυτοι, ως και οι κατα Κηρινθον, χρωνται μονω, καλουν δὲ αυτο κατα Εβραιως*, Hær. 30. cap. iii. 3. Tom. I. p. 127. ed. Colon. And again, cap. 13. *εν τω γεν παρ' αυτοις ευαγγελιω κατα Ματθαιον ονομαζομενω εχ ολω δε πλη-  
ρεστω αλλα νενοθευμενω και εκρωτηριασμενω, κ. τ. λ.* Indeed to judge from the specimen which Epiphanius has given in this chapter, the Ebionite Gospel, according to the Hebrews, must have differed considerably from our canonical Gospel of St. Matthew. It is from this Gospel, according to the Hebrews, or, as it is sometimes called, of the twelve Apostles, that Mr. Stroth contends that Justin Martyr has taken his quotations.

## PAGE 37.

7. The passage which our author has produced  
from

from Epiphanius, to shew that the Ebionites were acquainted with St. Paul's epistles, seems to warrant no such conclusion, and if it proves any thing, proves rather the authenticity of the Acts of the Apostles, because Epiphanius relates that the Ebionites appealed to a declaration of St. Paul, which is recorded Acts xxi. 39. No man will deny that St. Paul's doctrine, with respect to the abolition of the Mosaic law, was known to the Ebionites, and that they refused on that account to acknowledge him as a divine Apostle: but to conclude from these premises that they had seen, or even heard of those particular epistles which he wrote to the inhabitants of Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy, is an inference which is hardly admissible. It is likewise a matter of doubt, whether the Ebionites, whose language was Syro-Chaldee, would have understood St. Paul's epistles, even if they had seen them. The passage in Eusebius, to which our author likewise refers, is more satisfactory.

## PAGE 38.

8. See Mosheim de rebus Christ. ante Constantinum M. p. 401—410. and Lardner's Works, Vol. IX. p. 358—415.

9. See Millii Prolegomena, p. 35, 36. of the Oxford edition, sect. 307—327. ed Küster.

## PAGE 39.

10. Epiphanius, in his 42<sup>d</sup>. heresy, has produced a list of passages which he says had been wilfully corrupted by Marcion, and which, with the answers, take up not less than sixty-two folio pages. But as the zealous father ungenerously ascribed the worst of motives to those who differed from his opinion, it is at least a matter of doubt whether the charge be grounded. Dr. Loeffler has written a learned dissertation, entitled, Marcionem Pauli epistolas et Lucæ Evangelium adulterasse dubitatur. Trajecti ad Viadrum 1788.

## S E C T. VIII.

## PAGE 40.

1. The works of Celsus are no longer extant, and the only remaining fragments are those detached quotations from his treatise entitled *Αληθης λογος*, which Origen has given in his eight books contra Celsum.

## PAGE 41.

2. This is the common refuge of the antient fathers, who made no scruple, when pressed by their adversaries, to lay the charge to those whom they branded with the title of heretic. But candour and impartiality oblige us to admit with great caution accusations of this nature, as we have evidence on only one side of the question, it having been formerly the policy of the ruling party to suppress the writings of their adversaries. This subject will be more fully considered in the Chapter of Various Readings.

## PAGE 42.

3. Our author means those only which Porphyry wrote against the Christian religion, some of his other works, such as his Lives of Pythagoras, and Plotinus, &c. being still extant. See Fabricii Bibl. Græca, Tom. IV. cap. xxxvii.

4. Without making so dear a sacrifice, it is possible that this wish of our author may be one day gratified, for according to the accounts of Isaac Vossius, a manuscript of the works of Porphyry is preserved in the Medicean library at Florence, but kept so secret that no one is permitted to see it. *Memini Salvium dixisse, spem sibi factam talis libri, sed pretio ingenti. Fuit hic pestilentium ejusmodi scriptorum percupidus: ita sane multum laboravit ut compararet sibi Porphyrii libros, quos ille quondam adversus Christianam pietatem evomuit, ubi ex Gerhardi Jo. Vossii filio accepisset clanculum illos asservari hodie Florentiæ in bibliotheca Magni Ducis.*

Ritmeieri Conringiana epistolica, p. 53.

It

It is at present however doubted, whether this report be not erroneous.

5. Of Küster's edition, but p. 66. of the Oxford edit.

6. Vol. VIII. p. 207—219 of the ed. of 1788.

PAGE 43.

7. See the notes of Mill, Wetstein, and Griesbach, on Matth. xiii. 35. and Mark i. 2. with Griesbach's *Symbolæ Criticæ*, p. 29, 60.

PAGE 44.

8. The objection of Porphyry affects not the authority of Daniel, because it relates to a part which is acknowledged to be spurious, or at least never to have existed in the Hebrew, and is for that reason separated from the prophecy of Daniel in the modern editions of the Septuagint, and referred to the Apocrypha, though in the earliest editions, that of Complutum for instance, as well as in all the manuscripts of the Greek Bible, the story of Susanna, with that of Bel and the Dragon, make a part of the book of Daniel.

9. Our author in this part of his *Orient. Bibl.* gives an account of the Greek version of Daniel according to the Seventy, (the common printed text being that of Theodotion) published at Rome in 1772, from a manuscript in the possession of Cardinal Chigi, which has likewise the story of Susanna, with that of Bel and the Dragon. But the latter is separated from the rest of the book by the following superscription, *ἐκ προφητείας Αμ-  
βαιου υἱου Ιησὺ ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Λευι*, whence our author conjectures that a similar superscription stood originally before the story of Susanna, and appeals to the testimony of Origen, Apollinarius, and Jerom. He acknowledges, p. 24. that the objection of Porphyry, when confined to this story, is grounded. See Gray's *Key to the Old Testament and Apocrypha*, p. 613—616. Those who are acquainted with German literature will find the most complete information in Eichhorn's *Allgemeine Bibliothek*,

thek der biblischen Literatur, or Universal Library of biblical Literature, Vol. II. p. 1—46.

10. Vol. VIII. p. 394—411. of the ed. 1788.

## S E C T. X.

PAGE 47.

1. Should it be still objected that the epistles ascribed to St. Paul might have been written neither by the Apostle, nor any other writer of the N. T., nor by different impostors, but by a single impostor in a subsequent age, in which case the argument drawn from a similarity of style would be obviated, we may answer, that this hypothesis, though not attended with the same, is attended with other difficulties, which are not more easy to surmount. The epistles of St. Paul, if an imposture, must have been forged long before the expiration of the second century, for we need only appeal to the writings of Clement of Alexandria, Irenæus and Tertullian, to shew that they were universally known at that period from the eastern to the western border of the Roman empire. But is it possible that epistles, pretended to be addressed by St. Paul to the inhabitants of Rome, Corinth, Philippi, Thessalonica, and Ephesus, should have been received in all those cities as genuine, if invented after the death of the Apostle? Would the Romans, would the Corinthians, have admitted epistles first brought to light in the second, and pretended to have been written in the first century, if they had never heard of any such epistles having been sent? But what impostor could have invented such epistles as those written to the Corinthians for instance? A Corinthian himself? This is a very improbable conjecture, for abuses are described in them which do no honour to that city. But perhaps they were written by a stranger? Now no stranger to that city could have entered into that long and circumstantial detail which appears throughout the whole. In fact, no epistles were ever written that are more strongly authen-

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ticated than those of St. Paul. We doubt not the authenticity of the epistles ascribed to Cicero and Pliny, yet these lay buried during whole ages in the times of monkish barbarism, forgotten or unknown, till the invention of printing, and the revival of learning, called forth the half-legible manuscripts from the hidden recesses of unfrequented libraries, whereas those written by St. Paul have been read in one uninterrupted series, from the first to the present age. See also Paley's *Horæ Paulinæ*, where the authenticity of St. Paul's epistles is defended on new and very ingenious principles.

## PAGE 48.

2. See Dr. Harwood's ingenious Remarks on St. Paul as a writer, in his Introduction to the New Testament, Vol. I. ch. 5. sect. 5. though Dr. Harwood ascribes to St. Paul a much greater share of profane literature than our author.

3. In the preface to his paraphrase on St. Paul's epistles.

## S E C T. XI.

## PAGE 49.

1. See Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, Vol. I. p. 28—30. 2<sup>d</sup>. ed.

## PAGE 50.

2. Lardner's Works, Vol. I. p. 329. See also a short thesis written by Professor Vollborth *de causis cur Josephus cædem puerorum Bethlehemiticorum silentio præterierit*, Gottingæ 1788.

3. This question will be particularly examined in the Introduction to St. Maule's Gospel. The controversy between Williams and Velthusen on this subject is well known to the learned.



## PAGE 51.

4. Krebsii Observationes in Nov. Test. e Fl. Josepho, Lipsiæ 1755, 8<sup>vo</sup>.

## PAGE 53.

5. Like the viri consulares in the Roman senate.

## PAGE 54.

6. To the external and internal evidence for the authenticity of the New Testament, produced by our author in the preceding sections, may be added an argument of a different kind. We scruple not in natural philosophy to adopt that hypothesis as true, which solves the several phænomena in a simple and easy manner; and if no other can be produced, that gives a similar solution, the probability amounts to a moral certainty. On this principle rests the truth of the Newtonian system, and this principle may be applied to the New Testament. For the hypothesis that the *ομολογούμενα* (which alone form the subject of this chapter) were written in the first century, and by the persons to whom they are ascribed, solves every phænomenon, not only in the nature and character of the New Testament, but in the origin and propagation of the Christian religion, whereas every other hypothesis is attended not only with difficulty but contradiction.

## S E C T. XII.

## PAGE 58.

1. The words 'death of John the Baptist' must have been inserted by mistake in our author's text, as that event is not recorded by St. Luke, who mentions only that John was cast into prison by Herod, (Luke iii. 19, 20.) of which our author certainly was not ignorant, as will appear in the sequel.

## PAGE 59.

2. The passage in Josephus to which our author alludes is Antiquit. Lib. XII. cap. v. §. 4.

## PAGE 61.

3. These sensible remarks are such as might be expected from a writer like Michaelis, whose uncommon knowledge of history was not one of his least excellencies.

## PAGE 62.

4. This solution is ingenious and natural. Those who would examine what other learned men have written on this subject, may consult Lardner's Works, Vol. I. p. 405.

5. Our author has not mentioned by whom the difficulty has been explained, but Dr. Lardner has written a particular treatise, 'On the names given to Herodias's first husband by the Evangelists and Josephus.' See his Works, Vol. I. p. 389—397.

## PAGE 63.

6. See Lardner's Works, Vol. I. p. 16—19.

7. This circumstance is of some importance, because St. Peter was the friend and companion of St. Mark.

8. This emendation of our author I am unable to comprehend. The common text in this passage of Josephus is *καὶ γὰρ ηῤῥησαν ἐπὶ πλείον τῇ ἀκροασεὶ τῶν λόγων*, *hujusmodi enim sermonibus mirum in modum elati erant*. Now it appears from our author's translation that he would substitute a verb expressive of satisfaction or approbation; but *ηῤῥησαν* comes from *εῤῥιζω*, *laceſſo*, and expresses directly the contrary. Perhaps he means *ηῤῥετισαν*, but even this is unsuitable to the grammatical construction. With respect to *ἡσθησαν*, which he mentions as a various reading, there is no such word in the Greek language, *αισθανομαι* being never used in the active. Perhaps *ἡρέθισαν* and *ἡσθησαν* are errata in the German original for *ἐρέσθησαν* and *ἤσθησαν*, both of which give a very good sense.

## PAGE 64.

9. Dr. Lardner, (Vol. VII. p. 113.) after having defended the authenticity of that part of Josephus which relates to John the Baptist, and which some had supposed to be spurious, because it contradicts the Evangelists, attempts to reconcile the two accounts. But our author's supposition that Josephus was mistaken, and his ingenious method of accounting for the mistake, remove all difficulty on this subject.

## PAGE 67.

10. The relation of Josephus is still improved by Eusebius, who has converted the owl into an angel. Hist. Eccles. Lib. II. c. 10.

11. Vol. I. p. 414. ed. 1788.

## PAGE 68.

12. Our author has here inverted the words of the Cod. Cant. which are *εγενετο απογραφη πρωτη*, an arrangement which is less favourable to his conjecture than that which he himself has adopted.

13. According to the proposed emendation, the Greek of this passage is really too bad to have been written by St. Luke, and the whole construction favours neither of Greek nor Hebrew.

## PAGE 69.

14. The name of a book of the Talmud. See Wolfii Bibliotheca Hebræa, Tom. II. p. 728. 748.

15. In Lightfoot's *Horæ Hebraicæ in Matthæum*, cap. xxvi. ver. 34. is the following remark. *Mireris gallum gallinaceum inveniri Hierosolymis, cum canone prohibitum sit gallos illic alere. Bava Kama, cap. 7. 'non alunt gallos Hierosolymis propter sacra, nec sacerdotes eos alunt per totam terram Israeliticam.' Quonam modo et prætextu cum canone sit dispensatum non disputamus: aderant certe galli gallinacei Hierosolymis æque ac alibi. See also Meuschen's Novum-Test. ex Talmude illustratum, p. 119.*

16. The objections of Reland with Schultze's answers, and an account of the contradictions between Josephus and the Talmud, may be seen in the following work, *Relandi de spoliis templi Hierosolymitani in arcu Titiano Romæ conspicuis liber singularis. Prolusionem de variis Judæorum erroribus in descriptione hujus templi præmisit notasque adjecit E. A. Schultze S. Theol. Doctor in Academiâ Viadrinâ. Trajecti ad Rhenum 1775, 8<sup>vo</sup>.*

17. In the 262<sup>d</sup>. section of Michælis' *Mosaic Law* (or according to its German title *Mosaisches Recht*, 6 vols. 8<sup>vo</sup>.) he treats of the usual punishment among the Jews for adultery. According to the law of Moses it was a capital offence; but he had not determined the particular kind of death, having said only in general terms *מִוֶּת יָמוּת* Levit. xx. 10. Now according to the Talmud the usual mode in these cases was strangulation, whereas it is said, John viii. 5. 'Moses in the law commanded that such should be stoned:' among other objections therefore this has been used as an argument against the authenticity of the whole relation, John viii. 1—11. To this objection our author replies, that the Mosaic law has in no case prescribed strangulation, which is a mere invention of later Rabbins, that capital offenders among the ancient Jews were either beheaded or stoned, and that the latter, though Moses had not determined the kind of death, was the usual punishment of adultery.

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## CHAPTER III.

### SECT. I.

PAGE 70.

1. Those who are designed for orders in Germany pass through a regular series of Lectures in Divinity during at least three years, which are divided into half-yearly courses,

courses, in which the several branches, viz. historical, dogmatical, polemical, exegetical, moral, and pastoral theology are respectively treated. According to this system our author's introduction belongs properly to the course of exegetical theology.

2. Our author apologizes for not giving a definition of Inspiration, because it is given in all the systems of dogmatic theology; but since among the writers on this intricate subject there prevails so great a variety of sentiment, some understanding an inspiration of words<sup>a</sup> as well as of ideas, others of ideas alone<sup>b</sup>, a third class understanding by inspiration an intervention of the Deity, by which the natural faculties of the sacred writers were directed to the discovery of truth<sup>c</sup>, a fourth class assuming a kind of negative intervention, by which they were prevented from falling into material error<sup>d</sup>, some again assuming a total inspiration, declaring that the supernatural influence of the Deity was extended to the most minute historical accounts, while others suppose that it was confined to certain parts of scripture<sup>e</sup>, not to mention those who divide inspiration into modes and classes, it seems indispensable in a treatise in which the author attempts to prove that the writings of the Apostles were inspired, to define with clearness and precision what he himself at least understands by this expression. This omission renders it difficult to comprehend what it is his intention to demonstrate; and though the excuse which he has alleged might have been admitted for the omission of the treatise itself, yet, the treatise once introduced, it is no apology for neglecting to define the subject of his inquiry.

8. The difference between inspiration and revelation seems not to have engaged the attention of ancient authors;

A a 4

<sup>a</sup> Most of the German divines of the last century, and many in the present. Grabe and Kiddel assume an inspiration of words only in certain cases: Jenkin understood rather a secret guidance in the choice of them.

<sup>b</sup> Luther, Beza, Salmasius.

<sup>d</sup> Warburton, Law.

<sup>c</sup> Doddridge.

<sup>e</sup> Grotius, Episcopus, Le Clerc.

thors; but within the last fifty years their limits have been defined by many German writers on this subject. See Heilmann's *Compendium Theologiæ dogmaticæ*, p. 30. and especially Baumgarten's *Dissertatio de discriminate revelationis et inspirationis*. All that is necessary to be observed at present is, that the one by no means implies the other; since a writer who receives inspiration in recording historical facts which he knew before, cannot be said to have had a revelation; and even the latter may exist without the former, since, if the doctrines, which were revealed by Christ, had been recorded by the Apostles, without any intervention of the Deity, during the act of writing, we should have had a revealed religion without inspiration.

According to Dr. Benson's hypothesis, inspiration is revelation in the proper sense of the word. See Bp. Watson's *Traacts*, Vol. IV. p. 469—480.

4. It is true that the word *κανον* signifies in the Greek Testament as well as in the classic authors 'a rule,' but in the writings of the fathers of the fourth and following centuries, after the number of sacred books, which were to be read in the churches, had been determined by public authority, it signifies a list or catalogue. Gregory of Nazianzus, in his epistle to Seleucus, having enumerated the several books of the O. and N. T. closes the catalogue in the following manner.

*εἰς αὐθεντικὸν*

*Κανὼν αὐτῆς τῶν Θεοπνευστῶν γραφῶν.*

Gregorii Nazianz. Op. Tom. II. p. 195. ed Colon.

Canonical books therefore signify properly those which were admitted by public authority into the catalogue of writings destined for the service of the church; and though their divine origin was considered as a necessary qualification to entitle them to this admission, yet the terms 'canonical' and 'inspired' are by no means synonymous.

## PAGE 71.

5. I have here taken the liberty to correct a small inaccuracy in our author's text. He says that the term apocryphal was borrowed from the Jews, whereas he means to say that we have ascribed to a Greek word a Jewish notion.

6. Not apocryphal, as we understand the word, for the ancient Jews never doubted the divine authority of the Proverbs, Solomon's Song, or Ecclesiastes: the Proverbs are frequently quoted in the New Testament itself, and if the Jews forbade the reading of Solomon's Song, and certain other parts of the Old Testament in the synagogue, they were actuated by very different motives, as may be seen in Castelli Lex. Hept. art. **פסוקים**, and Hottinger's Thesaurus Philologicus, p. 485. The terms **פסוקים** and *apocryphos*, though similar in their original meaning, are not similar in their use and application. It appears, from the very quotation which our author has produced from Rabbi Nathan, that the word **פסוקים** was applied to books divinely inspired, but we apply the term *apocryphos* to those, whose divine inspiration is denied. It is true that the ancient Jews made a distinction (which varied indeed at various periods) between books that were to be read, and books that were not to be read in the synagogue, which latter the Rabbins called **פסוקים**; but these were included in the sacred canon, whereas we apply the term *apocryphos* to such as are excluded from it. The Jewish Ganufim were not read in the synagogues, but we read the apocrypha in our churches. These apocryphal books, which are printed at the end of the Old Testament, are called in the Talmud **ספרים החיצונים**, libri externi, (Hottinger's Thes. Phil. p. 518.) nor does it appear that **פסוקים** was the title by which they were in general distinguished. What has been hitherto observed relates only to these expressions as far as concerns the Old Testament; for the word *apocryphos*, when applied by modern writers to such books as have relation to the New Testament, signifies in general 'spurious,' in which sense



sense it differs in a still higher degree from *πῦρ*. Fabricius in his *Codex Apocryphus N. T.* includes such writings as are supposed to be a forgery, whereas those of a similar description which have relation to the O. T. are contained in his *Codex Pseudepigraphus*. But it would be tedious and even foreign to the present purpose to enumerate the various senses in which *ἀποκρυφός* has been used both by antients<sup>a</sup> and moderns: every writer, provided he gives a proper definition, is at liberty to use a word in the sense which he thinks the most convenient: the meaning ascribed to it by our author is ‘authentic, but not inspired’; and it will appear from the sequel that this notion must be carefully distinguished from that ascribed to it by Fabricius.

## PAGE 72.

7. Even this is a matter of doubt; for the value of a diamond depends not on the genuineness of the gold in which it is set, nor is truth affected by the instability of the vehicle in which it is conveyed. Could it be proved that the books of the New Testament were not written by the persons to whom they are ascribed, it would be no necessary consequence that the religion itself were a forgery. The truth of Christianity might subsist without a single record; for who would undertake to demonstrate, that, if the New Testament were annihilated, our religion would therefore cease to be true?

To prevent mistakes in regard to this note, care must be taken; first, not to apply it to any other passage, than that, to which the figure of reference shews that it belongs; and secondly, not to confound the abstract *truth* of Christianity with the *proof* of that truth. The words, to which the note refers, are, “The truth of our religion depends upon the latter,” that is, upon the question whether the books of the N. T. are genuine. That this position is not accurate, will appear from the following consideration. The Christian religion was as true within the first ten years after the death of Christ,

as

<sup>a</sup> See Suiceri *Thes. Eccles.* Tom. I. p. 457.

as it is at present: but at that time the N. T. was not written, consequently the truth of Christianity could not depend on the authenticity of the New Testament. Whether we should be able at present *to prove* the divine origin of Christianity, without the aid of the N. T., is another inquiry: and if our author, instead of saying, that the *truth* of Christianity, had said, that the *proof* of that truth, depended at present on the authenticity of those writings, in which its origin and doctrines are recorded, I should certainly have admitted the position without hesitation.

8. Here our author makes a distinction, which is at present very generally received, between the divine origin of the Christian doctrine, and the divine origin of the writings, in which that doctrine is recorded. See Dr. Griesbach's Thesis, De theopneustia librorum sacrorum, particula prima. Jenæ 1784.

9. The comparison made by our author is between the writings of Wolf and the philosophy of Leibnitz, which being less familiar to an English ear, I have changed the names into Maclaurin and Newton.

10. Erasmus says, Non est necesse, ut quicquid fuit in Apostolis, protinus ad miraculum vocemus. Passus est errare suos Christus, etiam post acceptum paracletum, sed non usque ad fidei periculum. Erasmi Epist. Lib. II. Tom. III. p. 97. ed. Basilæ, 1540. fol. Grotius, whose treatise de veritate Christianæ religionis is considered as one of the best defences of the truth of Christianity, has the following passage in his Votum pro pace Ecclesiastica, p. 135. ed. 1642. Tom. III. p. 672. ed. Londin. 1679. fol. A spiritu sancto dictari historias nihil fuit opus, satis fuit scriptorem memoriâ valere. Le Clerc divides the sacred writings into three classes, prophecies, histories, and doctrines: in the first he admits inspiration, in the two last he absolutely denies it. See Sentimens de quelques theologiens de Hollande sur l'histoire critique du Vieux Testament composée par M. Simon, Lettre 11, 12. and Defense des Sentimens contre la réponse du Prieur de Bolville, Lettre 10.

## PAGE 74.

11. According to our author then, the solution of the difficulties above enumerated, if they really are difficulties, depends on the doctrine of inspiration.

12. Here ends the first section of this chapter in the third edition, and the following paragraph, which first appeared in the present edition, was written after our author had in some measure changed his sentiments on this subject. But as what immediately precedes has remained unaltered, there appears not only a want of connexion, which is frequently the case in this learned work, where new clauses have been inserted by the author, but even a contradiction, as will appear from the following paragraph of this section.

## PAGE 75.

13. Kiddel, in the beginning of the second section of his Essay on Inspiration, entertains nearly the same sentiments. The distinction between the inspiration of the historical books, and that of the epistles, is by no means new: Grotius made the same distinction, and this very question gave rise to the famous theological dispute between the Dominicans and the Jesuits. See Simon Histoire Critique du Texte du N. T. Tom. I. ch. xxiii.

## PAGE 76.

14. The Wolfenbüttel Fragments, though published, were not written by Lessing. The author is said to have been the celebrated Reimarus, who wrote the Truths of Natural Religion vindicated.

## S E C T. II.

## PAGE 76.

1. The cause of the perplexity, with which the Inquiry into the Canon has been usually attended, is that the subject is of a mixed nature, partly historical, partly dogmatical.

dogmatical. The chief part of the inquiry is, or ought to be, purely historical; for as the word Canon signifies a list or catalogue of sacred writings, the evidence of ecclesiastical history can alone determine what books have been admitted into this sacred catalogue in various ages, and by various councils. It is likewise in some respects dogmatical; for as different councils have differed in their opinions, it is necessary to examine the grounds of those opinions. For these reasons few writers agree in their mode of treating the subject, and it is to be lamented that our learned author is silent on this head, as it might be naturally expected that he would have treated it in a more clear and intelligible manner, than most of his predecessors. On the other hand, he is not to be censured for neglect on the present occasion, because the arguments, which he produces in this section for the inspiration of the sacred writings, apply immediately to the Apostles, and their writings in general, without reference to this or that book in particular. Those who would examine this subject, may consult, beside the well known writings of Cofin, Richardson, Nye, Jones, Lardner, &c. Gerhardi de Mastricht *Canon Scripturæ sacræ ecclesiasticus*, Jenæ 1725. Schmidii *Historia antiqua et vindicatio canonis sacri V. et N. T.* Lipsiæ 1775, and Stofchii *Commentatio historico-critica de librorum N. T. canone.* Francofurti ad Viadrum 1755. Those who are acquainted with German literature, will find much new and curious information in Dr. Semler's *Freye Untersuchung, or Free Inquiry into the Canon*, 3 vols. 12<sup>mo</sup>. Halle 1771—1773, Weber's *Beyträge zur Geschichte des Kanons*, Tübingen 1791, and in Eichorn's *Repertorium*, Vol. V. p. 217. though this last treatise relates merely to the Old Testament, but many valuable hints may be derived from it in an inquiry into the Canon of the New.

2. It is well known, that the rejection of oral tradition, and the infallibility of the church, is one of the characteristics of Protestantism. But Augustin, in his book *Contra epistolam fundamenti*, cap. v. says, ego  
vero

vero Evangelio non crederem nisi me commoveret ecclesiæ auctoritas; and Cardinal Hosius went so far as to declare, 'scripturas, si desit ecclesiæ auctoritas, tantum valere quantum fabulas Æsopi. Hosius de auctoritat. Script. contra Brentium, Lib. III. See his whole treatise, p. 513—552. of the 1<sup>st</sup>. vol. of Stanislaus Hosii Opera, Coloniae 1584.

## PAGE 77.

3. Because the number of canonical books was not determined by public authority before the fourth century, when the Christian religion received a civil establishment.

4. For instance, the council of Laodicea rejected the Revelation of St. John, which in subsequent councils was determined canonical: and the epistle to the Hebrews was rejected by the church of Rome in the very same century, that the third council of Carthage placed it in the canon. Compare Eusebii Hist. Eccles. Lib. III. cap. iii. with the 47th. rule of the third council of Carthage.

5. Josephus, who was a Jewish Priest, is very sufficient authority in determining the number of books, which the Jews at that period received as canonical. See his testimony in the treatise Contra Apionem, Lib. I. c. 8. and Eusebii Hist. Eccles. Lib. III. c. 10. which is precisely the same kind of evidence as that of a Christian writer of the fourth century, in regard to the number of books admitted by the Christian church: but that his testimony to the inspiration of the book of the O. T. should be of more authority than that of the Christian church to a book of the N. T. seems really a paradox.

## PAGE 78.

6. Our author enters here into a critical review of the Koran, and p. 95. to which he particularly alludes, he argues against the doctrine of Mohammed, that an internal divine sensation is a proof of the divinity of a religion.

ligion. It is well known that Mohammed made no pretensions to the gift of miracles.

7. Our author here argues against the opinion of Dr. Semler, who in his Inquiry into the Canon had asserted, that the internal excellence of the Christian religion was the best proof of its divinity. But that is a question which has no reference to the present.

8. That the sacred writings were composed by immediate inspiration from the Deity is generally proved from 2 Tim. iii. 16. *πασα γραφη θεοπνευστος*, as in Potter's *Prælectiones Theologicæ*, and Kiddel's *Essay on Inspiration*: from which passage likewise the name itself was borrowed. Our author being of opinion that this passage has no reference to the New Testament (see ch. 1.) judged it necessary to bring different arguments. But some of these are not satisfactory, as will appear from the following notes. On the other hand we must not forget that a weak argument is no proof of the falsity of the proposition, which it is intended to support, since absurd demonstrations have sometimes been given even of incontrovertible mathematical truths.

## PAGE 80.

9. To comprehend the force of this argument, it is necessary to examine the passage on which it is founded, Matth. xi. 9—11. *Αλλα τι εξηλθετε ιδειν, προφητην; και λεγω υμιν και περισσοτερον προφητα, ετος γαρ εστιν περι ε γιγοραπται, ιδε εγω αποσελλω τον αγγελον μου προ προσωτω σε, ος κατασκευασει την οδον σε εμπροσθεν σε. Αμην λεγω υμιν εκ εφηγερεται εν γεννητοις γυναικων μειζων Ιωαννης τε βαπτισε, ο δε μικροτερος εν τη βασιλεια των ερανων μειζων αυτε εστιν.* Now the argument for the inspiration of the Apostles, which our author deduces from this passage, consists, when clearly stated, of the three following syllogisms.

The Prophets of the Old Testament were inspired.

John the Baptist was greater, than the Prophets of the

O. T.—Therefore,

John the Baptist was inspired.

Ο μικ-

Ὁ μικρότερος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν ἑβραίων was greater than John the Baptist.— Therefore,

Ὁ μικρότερος, &c. was inspired.

The expression ὁ μικρότερος, &c. applies to the Apostles. Therefore the Apostles were inspired.

To this demonstration may be made the following objections, 1. The proposition, which is the conclusion of the first syllogism and the major of the second, is ungrounded, because Christ himself, in the very passage that is quoted, assigns a totally different reason why John the Baptist was to be preferred to the Prophets of the O. T. 2. No reason can be assigned why the expression ὁ μικρότερος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν ἑβραίων should be confined merely to the Apostles; for since βασιλεία τῶν ἑβραίων is universally understood to signify in this passage the spiritual kingdom of the Messiah, or the religion of Christ, every pious teacher of the Gospel may lay claim to this title, especially as Christ asserts, Matt. xviii. 4. that whoever humbleth himself as a little child, shall be called even μείζων ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν ἑβραίων. On the other hand, if the expression includes more than the Apostles, as it really must, our author's argument proves too much. 3. On these principles we must admit three degrees of inspiration, the second of which is allotted to John the Baptist, whose office was merely to pave the way for the appearance of Christ, and the very lowest degree to those, to whom it is acknowledged that future events were revealed.

10. Our author means at the commencement of Christianity.

11. See Bardili significatus primitivus vocis προφητης, Goettingæ 1786, and Dresde de notione Prophetæ in Codice sacro, Prolusio prima Vitebergæ 1788, Prolusio 2<sup>a</sup>. ib. 1789.

12. See Lord Barrington's Essay on the teaching and witness of the Holy Spirit in the first volume of his Miscellanea sacra.



## PAGE 82.

13. Our author has here a very long note, in which he demonstrates, that the word Rock applies to Peter, which I have taken the liberty to omit, because I have never heard of any English divine that doubted it. It is remarkable that, beside the Oriental dialect spoken by Christ, the French is the only language that expresses Peter and Rock by the same word, and with the same termination.

14. The promise given to St. Peter, that he should be the Rock on which the church of Christ should be founded, was made in the presence of St. Matthew, and St. John: if therefore it be applied to the inspiration of his writings, it must imply, if not an exclusive, at least a more complete inspiration than St. Matthew and St. John were to expect. Of the twelve Apostles, to whom the discourse was directed, St. Peter contributed in the most eminent manner to the foundation of the Christian religion: he was therefore κατ' ἐξοχην the rock on which the church was built, and it is unnecessary, in order to shew its stability, to have recourse with our author to the writings of this Apostle, since the beneficial effects of the zeal, which he exerted in the first century, would have been felt in every subsequent age, even had he left not behind him a single record.

15. From the passage which our author has quoted from St. Matthew's Gospel, it may be inferred that the Apostles had a divine commission, but it does not appear to have any reference to the inspiration of their writings.

## PAGE 83.

16. The word used in the original is Errinerer, which, as well as the word adopted for the translation, is to be found in no dictionary.

17. It is unnecessary here to examine the difference between ordinary and extraordinary gifts, as they are termed by the dogmatists; the only question is, whether

ther the effusion of the *πνευμα αγιον* on the day of Pentecost was extended to the Apostles during the act of writing their Gospels and Epistles. See Griesbach's second *Programma de theopneustiâ librorum sacrorum*, Jenæ 1785.

## PAGE 84.

18. For that very reason Grotius concluded that an inspiration of the historical books was unnecessary.

## PAGE 85.

19. The *αποκαλυψις*, which St. Paul means in this passage, is recorded Acts ix. 3—6.

20. Whether this passage relates to divine inspiration, depends on the mode in which it is interpreted. Those who understand it in a sense different from our author, contend that the supernatural intervention of the Deity was unnecessary to inform St. Paul of a fact, which was already known to every Christian.

21. I have here used the words of the English version, but our author translates the passage in the following manner. 'We deliver doctrines in words taught by the Holy Ghost, explaining inspired things with inspired words.' It seems then that he understands a verbal inspiration, agreeably to the sentiments of many ancient fathers, and many modern divines, who have considered the Apostles and Evangelists merely as passive instruments. It is true that this hypothesis renders it difficult to account for the great variety of style observable in the Greek Testament: on the other hand, several writers, especially Ernesti, contend that it is difficult to abstract an inspiration of ideas from an inspiration of words.

## PAGE 86.

22. It does not appear that St. Paul, in these passages, contends either for or against inspiration. 1 Cor. vii. 10, 11. he delivers certain doctrines, which had been taught by Christ, and are recorded Matth. v. 32. xix. 9. Mark x. 11, 12. Luke xvi. 18. Here then he had the command-

commandment of the Lord. But in the 12th. verse he gives a precept which had not been delivered by Christ, or at least is no where on record: in this case then, having no commandment of the Lord, he says *εγω ληγω, κχ ὁ Κυριος*. The distinction therefore made by St. Paul, is not between inspiration and non-inspiration, but between those commandments, which had been actually given, and those which had not been given by Christ.

## S E C T. III.

PAGE 90.

1. Eusebius even contradicts himself on the subject of St. Luke's inspiration, for in the sentence immediately following that, in which he affirms that the two books were inspired, (Hist. Eccles. Lib. III. 4.) he grounds the credibility of St. Luke's Gospel on the circumstance that the author had taken his accounts from eye-witnesses, and that of the Acts of the Apostles on the circumstance that the author had been himself an eye-witness to the facts which he relates. Now a work that is divinely inspired needs no further proof of credibility.

2. The account of Irenæus is not so manifestly erroneous, as our author asserts. It is true that the Acts of the Apostles are continued no further than the end of the last year of St. Paul's imprisonment in Rome, whence our author determines the date of the composition itself. See ch. ii. sect. 1. of this Introduction. But this inference seems to be ungrounded, for it is by no means a necessary consequence that an historian wrote his history in the very same year, with which he closes his accounts. Should it be objected, that the friend and companion of St. Paul would have continued his narrative, had he written at a later period, it may be replied, that the discontinuance of his history may be explained on other principles. St. Luke and St. Paul might have parted after the latter was released from imprisonment,

which is really the opinion of Dr. Lardner, (Vol. VI. p. 138.) in which case St. Luke might have written his history many years after that event, with which he would have finished his relation through want of further materials. This circumstance alone therefore decides nothing.

3. Our author has not mentioned in what part of Dr. Lardner's Works, but it is Vol. II. p. 258.

4. When the ancient fathers, in order to shew that the writings of St. Mark and St. Luke are divine, refer those of the former to St. Peter, and those of the latter to St. Paul, it is natural to suppose that they at least doubted whether St. Mark and St. Luke were themselves inspired, for an author who is himself inspired needs no other source of infallibility.

5. Tertullianus adv. Marcionem, Lib. IV. cap. ii.

6. This tradition is first recorded by Eusebius, Hist. Eccles. Lib. II. c. xv. who has mentioned it merely as such, without vouching for its truth. Besides, it is directly contradictory to the account given by Clement of Alexandria, who in his *υποτυψεις* relates that, when St. Peter was informed that St. Mark intended to write a Gospel, he neither prevented nor promoted it, *επιεπιγινοντα τον Πιτρον προτρεπτικως μητε κωλυσαι μητε προτρεψασθαι*. Vid. Eusebii Hist. Eccles. Lib. VI. c. xiv.

#### PAGE 91.

7. Eusebius has taken nearly the same step in his Hist. Eccles. Lib. II. c. xv. where he relates that St. Peter alludes in his first epistle to the Gospel of St. Mark, but here again he uses the suspicious word *φασι*.

8. It is the general opinion that St. Mark wrote his Gospel at Rome, under the direction of St. Peter, though contrary to the express testimony of Clement of Alexandria. Besides, Scaliger, Salmasius, Spanheim, Bower, and Semler, have either doubted or denied that St. Peter ever was in Rome, notwithstanding subsequent ages have formally converted him into a Roman bishop, and placed him at the head of the catalogue of Popes.

Very

Very weighty reasons may be urged in favour of their opinion, especially against the relation of Eusebius, who in his *Hist. Eccles. Lib. II. c. xiv.* places St. Peter's journey in the time of Claudius, and in his *Chronicon*, p. 160. ed. Lugdun. (if it be genuine) relates that he spent five and twenty years there; accounts that are hardly to be reconciled either with the Acts of the Apostles, or the epistles of St. Paul. But the further consideration of this subject must be deferred to the particular introduction to St. Mark's Gospel.

9. In this sense Dr. Benson understands the inspiration of St. Mark and St. Luke: 'Though therefore that alone hath been commonly called inspired scripture which was written by inspiration, yet we here extend that phrase to such books, as were reviewed and approved, as well as to those which were written by inspiration.' See Bp. Watson's Tracts, Vol. IV. p. 471.

## PAGE 92.

10. Our author might have said almost three hundred years after the event, for Clement of Alexandria, and Irenæus make no mention of this particular circumstance; and even Eusebius, who is the first person that has related it, gives it as an uncertain tradition. Eusebii *Hist. Eccles. Lib. II. c. xv.*

## PAGE 95.

11. Dr. Benson says, 'That St. Luke wrote not by immediate inspiration appeareth from what he himself saith in his Introduction.'

See Bp. Watson's Tracts, Vol. IV. p. 473.

## PAGE 97.

12. The latter part of this section may be compared with Jenyn's View of the Internal Evidence of the Christian Religion, p. 122—132.

## CHAPTER IV.

## LANGUAGE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

## SECT. I.

## PAGE 97.

1. Our author displays in this chapter profound erudition, a long and intimate acquaintance with the sacred writings, and principles founded on true criticism, though their application to particular cases is sometimes attended with inaccuracy, as will be noticed in the course of these remarks,

## PAGE 98.

2. This is to be understood of the public lectures in Germany.

## PAGE 101.

3. Greek was spoken in the cities of Galatia, though it was not the language of the country.

4. It must be observed, that in this and the following sections, our author understands by the word Hebrew, not the language spoken before the Babylonish captivity, and in which the books of the Old Testament were written, but the common dialect used at that time in Jerusalem, which many writers term the Syro-Chaldee.

## PAGE 102.

5. The Greek Bible was sometimes used even in the synagogues of Judæa, though probably only by Jews, who were not natives of that country. See Buxtorf's Lexicon Chad. Talm. Rabb. p. 104.

## SECT. II.

## PAGE 103.

1. This dream of Hardouin hardly deserves a place in this Introduction, and were it not accompanied by

the learned and judicious remarks of our author, the translator would have been justified in omitting it.

## S E C T. III.

## PAGE 111.

1. The term 'Seventy' has been appropriated by long usage to express the writers of the Greek version; it is used therefore by our author agreeably to the common practice, though no one can suppose that he gives credit to the celebrated story, which was believed during so many centuries.

2. Alexandrinus refers to the city Alexandria, Alexandrianus to Alexander.

## PAGE 112.

3. See D. Owen's historical and critical account of the Septuagint version, sect. 1.

## PAGE 113.

4. This short but excellent essay is written in German, and entitled *Michaelis Programma worin er von seinen Collegiis über die 70 Dollmetscher Nachricht giebt*, Göttingen 1767. In the page, to which our author refers, he delivers the same sentiments, as in the passage of his Introduction, but, as he gives no examples, an extract is unnecessary.

## PAGE 114.

5. Our author, in his excellent treatise on the Syriac language, written in German, the second edition of which was published at Göttingen in 1786, uses the word *Aramæan* as a nomen genericum, of which the Chaldeæ and Syriac are species. The former is called the East, the latter the West Aramæan, and he shews in the second section, that these are in fact one and the same language, or that their difference consists in the difference of the characters, and the difference of pronunciation.



## PAGE 115.

6. An abstract of that part of our author's *Programma*, to which he here refers, will be given in the Notes to that section.

7. See Buxtorf's *Thesaurus Linguae Hebraeae*, p. 639—669.

## S E C T. IV.

## PAGE 116.

1. Yet this doctrine was maintained by Erasmus, Luther, Melancthon, Camerarius, Beza, Drusius, Casaubon, Glassius, Gataker, Solanus, Olearius, and Vorstius, though denied by Pfochenius, Stolberg, Schmid, Georgi, and Blackwall. See *Ernesti Institutio Interpretis N. T.* p. 41. ed. 3<sup>ua</sup>. Lipsiae 1775.

2. The modern advocates for the purity of the language, in which the New Testament is written, have been ignorant perhaps that Origen and Chrysostom, who of all the ancient fathers were best able to distinguish classic from unclassic Greek, were directly of a contrary opinion. See Simon *Histoire critique du Texte du N. T.* ch. 26. and Wetstenii *Libelli ad crisin atque interpretationem N. T.* Halæ 1766, p. 48—60.

## PAGE 121.

3. A particular account of the writings of those authors, who have engaged in this controversy, may be seen in Walchii *Bibliotheca Theologica*, Tom. IV. p. 276—289. See also Fabricii *Bibliotheca Græca*, Tom. IV. p. 224—227. To the authors enumerated by Walch, and Fabricius, may be added Dr. Campbell, who in the first part of his *First Preliminary Dissertation* has an excellent essay on the language of the New Testament.

## PAGE 122.

4. In these cases therefore no Hebraism can take place. The whole sentence in the original is very obscure,

scure, and I have not been able to render it more clear in the translation.

## S E C T. V.

## PAGE 123.

1. These are explained in every Lexicon on the New Testament, of which the most valuable is that of Schleusner, published at Leipzig in 1792, in two vols. 8vo.

## PAGE 124.

2. This very excellent Grammar, which is written in German, was published at Göttingen in 1781. In the place to which our author refers, he takes notice of the frequent repetition of the Vau præfixum in Arabic, as well as in Hebrew.

3. See Glassii Philologia sacra, Tom. I. p. 394—396. ed. Dathe.

4. Because there is no such verb in Hebrew.

5. The German phrase used by our author to express literally **הנה הגבר** is 'der Mann da,' which rendered word for word is, 'that man there;' an expression which favours at present of vulgarism, yet exactly corresponds to the Hebrew.

## PAGE 125.

7. See Glassii Philologia sacra, Tom. I. p. 67—79. ed. Dathe.

## PAGE 126.

7. The use of the two pronouns **ἐ** and **αὐτὸς** seems not to be perfectly parallel in this example to the use of **וְ** with the suffix of the following word, for the two Greek pronouns belong to two different substantives, whereas the singular construction of **וְ** consists in its being applied to the very same word which has likewise a suffix. See Buxtorf's Thesaurus, p. 395. To render the phrase a Hebraism, it must be written **οὐ το πῶτον αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ :**

**αὐτῶ:** and Justin Martyr, in his Dialogue with Trypho, quotes precisely in this manner. Our author in order to illustrate the Hebraism, has added **אֲשֶׁר בִּידֵי**, but it may be asked whether **וְאֵן**, when used pleonastically, is ever followed, by a prefix. In the other examples, which our author has taken from St. Matthew's Gospel, ch. viii. 1, 5, 23, 28. the singularity of the construction consists in the repetition of **αὐτῶ**, but it does not appear in what manner this is connected with the Hebrew pronoun relative.

8. See Note 3. to chap. i.

9. Whoever reads this sentence will naturally suppose that the Seventy have usually translated **לְעֹלָם** by **νικος**, it is therefore necessary to observe, that though **לְעֹלָם** is used forty-five times in the Hebrew Bible, the Seventy have rendered it only in seven instances by **νικος**, namely 2 Sam. ii. 26. Jerem. iii. 5. Amos i. 11. viii. 7. Job xxxvi. 7. Lam. iii. 18. v. 20. In one instance, 1 Chron. xxix. 11. it is rendered **νικη**, in other cases it is translated **αἰων**, **τελος**, **πολυς χρόνος**, **αιμα**, paraphrased by **ισχυω**, &c. as those will find who take the same pains to compare with the Septuagint the examples of **לְעֹלָם** which are given in Buxtorf's Concordance. Now the object of the present inquiry is not to discover what new senses may be invented for **νικος** by the aid of foreign literature, but to ascertain the meaning, which the Seventy designed to express by it, and this comparison renders it at least doubtful whether they intended to ascribe to **νικος** the same extent of meaning, as **לְעֹלָם** admits in the Hebrew; for in that case there could have been no necessity for using different Greek words, according to the different senses of the Hebrew original. Biel, in his *Lexion ad LXX Interpretes*, Tom. ii. p. 387. says, that Aquila has rendered **לְעֹלָם** by **εἰς νικος**, in one or two instances, where the Seventy have used **εἰς τέλος**. But this is no proof that **νικος** and **τελος** are synonymous, and shews only that different translators have differently understood the original Hebrew: for on such principles we might conclude that the words 'victory' and 'eternity' are synonymous, because the same Greek word

word which Luther has rendered by the former, Michaelis has translated by the latter.

It does not appear then from the authority of the Septuagint, and certainly not from the authority of any classic author, that we have any reason to ascribe to *νικος* the sense of either 'truth' or 'eternity.' With respect to the former, we may venture to go a step further, and doubt whether the Hebrew word itself is capable of that meaning. It is true that we find in Simonis's Hebrew Lexicon, among other explanations of *אֱמֶת* that of *veritas*; and in support of this meaning appeal is made to the four following passages, Job xxxiv. 36. Habbakuk i. 4. Lament. iii. 18. Prov. xxi. 28. But, what is an extraordinary circumstance, the Seventy have not rendered it in one of these examples by *αληθεια*, or by any other word expressive of truth; and, what is still more extraordinary, in not a single instance in the whole Bible. The authors therefore of the Alexandrine version, who must be supposed to have understood Hebrew, have never ascribed to *אֱמֶת* the sense of truth; and the Syriac translator of the Old Testament, if we except the last example, has used no word that even borders on that meaning. Hab. i. 4. *אֱמֶת* is rendered *ܐܡܬܐ*. Job xxxiv. 36. *אֱמֶת* is rendered *ܐܡܬܐ*. Lament. iii. 18. *אֱמֶת* is translated *ܐܡܬܐ*. and Prov. xxi. 28. where *אֱמֶת* is rendered in the Septuagint *φυλασσομενες*, we find in the Syriac version *ܐܡܬܐ*, which is derived from *ܐܡܬܐ* *rectâ* contendit. The evidence of the Vulgate is equally unfavourable with that of the Septuagint, nor does it appear that any Lexicographer or translator has rendered *אֱמֶת* by *veritas*, before the time of the celebrated Albrecht Schultens, for neither Buxtorf nor Castet have taken it in this sense. It may be asked then by what means the learned of the eighteenth century have made this discovery, a question to which probably no other answer can be given, than that the Arabic verb *نصحه*, which in the first conj. signifies *monuit*, is explained in the third conj. *vere recteque se habuit*. Now not to mention that the Hebrew and Arabic verbs in this instance, though similar in form, are discordant in sense, nothing

nothing can be more uncertain than an attempt to explain the meaning of a word on principles of etymology. In proof of this, we need only to have recourse to the English word 'virtue,' which is at least as nearly allied to the Latin *virtus* and the Italian *virtù*, as the Hebrew **תָּצַן** to the Arabic **فهم**. But if a learned philologer, who lived in some distant country, and was unacquainted with the actual usage of the English language, should investigate the meaning of the word 'virtue' by help of the Latin, he would ascribe to it the sense of 'valour,' if by the help of the Italian that of 'a taste for the fine arts.' Future critics will have recourse perhaps to the Æthiopic, like Schultens to the Arabic, and discover with the same ease that **תָּצַן** has the sense of innocence and chastity.

10. It does not appear what connexion this passage in Isaiah has with an explanation of *νικος* by means of **תָּצַן** for **תָּמַן** not **תָּצַן** is there used.

## PAGE 127.

11. The Seventy have here, as usual, translated **תָּמַן** literally and properly by *αληθεια*. There seems no room for the admission of a Hebraism, and had they used *νικος* on this occasion, it would have been the only instance in the whole Septuagint.

12. This conjecture was made by Ludovicus Capellus, but it is supported by the authority of no manuscript, and no version. Besides **תָּצַן** Hab. i. 4. is translated in the Septuagint *εις τέλος*.

13. If we admit that he thought in Hebrew when he wrote *εις νικος*, does it follow that he thought on **תָּצַן**, if he had **תָּמַן** before his eyes?

14. That *νικος* here signifies 'truth,' depends on the two following conditions. 1. That **תָּצַן** has that sense. 2. That the Greek word is used in the same latitude as the Hebrew. The first condition is improbable, the second almost impossible, as appears from note 9. But even if we allow that the Hebrew word admits that sense,

no

no inference can be deduced with respect to the Greek, for נצח signifies likewise 'victory,' and that this is the sense which the Seventy intend to express, when they render it by νικος, or at least not that of truth, appears from the circumstance, that they have never used it for אמת or any other Hebrew word, whose literal and proper sense is veritas. The Syriac translator likewise has taken νικος, Matth. xii. 20. in the sense of 'victory,' for he has translated it by ܠܕܝܢܐ, though אמת Isaiah xlii. 3. is rendered ܠܕܝܢܐ. Whether the Greek text, as it stands at present, Matth. xii. 18, 19, 20, 21, which is certainly not taken from the Septuagint, be an accurate translation of the Hebrew, Isaiah xlii. 1, 2, 3, is another inquiry. Mr. Bowyer proposes to alter νικος to εικος.

15. That νικος here signifies 'eternity' depends again on the supposition that it may be used in the same latitude as נצח, which the above-mentioned comparison renders highly improbable. It is true that since the time of Gassius, who adopted this explanation in his Philologia sacra, it has been fashionable for above a century to explain νικος in this passage by 'eternity,' and those who have been accused of ignorance who have not known that this was its meaning. Because נצח is sometimes translated νικος, and admits the sense of eternity, it has been concluded that νικος has the same meaning, without examining the passages, or comparing the Hebrew with the Greek.

The question may be determined with still greater certainty by comparing the antient versions. 1 Cor. xv. 54. κατεποθη θανατος εις νικος is rendered in the Syriac version of the N. T. ܠܕܝܢܐ ܠܕܝܢܐ, and in the Vulgate absorpta est mors in victoria. The passage itself is taken from Isaiah xxv. 8. בלע המות לנצח, which in the Septuagint is rendered κατεπιεν ο θανατος ισχυρας, and in the Syriac version ܠܕܝܢܐ ܠܕܝܢܐ. Here are several circumstances that are worthy of notice. 1. The Seventy understood not נצח in this passage in the sense of in æternum; for in that case they would not have used ισχυρας, but εις αιωνας, or εις αιωνα, as may be seen on comparing

comparing the passages produced by Buxtorf. 2. The Syriac translator of the O. T. has used **ܠܥܡܪ**, cum victoria. 3. The Syriac translator of the N. T. has rendered **νικος**, 1 Cor. xv. 54. by the very same word. 4. Jerom has translated it by victoria. 5. St. Paul immediately after the expression **εἰς νικος** adds **ως οὗ θανάτου, το καὶ ποῦ**; **ως οὗ, ἀδὴν, το νικος**; Now no writer whatsoever can use the same word, on one and the same subject, and almost in the same line in senses so different as victory and eternity, without exposing himself in a very high degree to the charge of obscurity. Having examined the evidence in favour of the translation 'victory,' impartiality requires that we should produce such evidence as can be brought against it. In the Vulgate **לְעוֹלָם**, Isai. xxv. 8. is rendered in sempiternum; the same is expressed in the Chaldee paraphrase, and the Syriac translator of the Old Testament immediately after **ܠܥܡܪ** has added **ܠܥܡܪ**, as if he doubted in which of the two senses he should take **לְעוֹלָם**, and therefore expressed both. But this affects the Hebrew only, and not the Greek, which alone is the object of the present inquiry; and since this addition was rejected by the Syriac translator of the N. T. it rather augments than diminishes the force of these arguments, as far as relates to **νικος**.

Instead therefore of seeking for an Hebraism in **νικος**, may we not apply it to **καταπαύειν**? The verb used in the Hebrew is **בָּלַע**, and in the Syriac version as well 1 Cor. xv. 54. as Isaiah xlii. 3. we find **ܠܥܡܪ**. These are one and the same verb signifying literally absorpsit, and figuratively vicit. On this principle the passage in question would be translated, 'Death is overcome with triumph.' It is at least an accurate translation of the Syriac text, to which more deference is due, than to a commentator of the eighteenth century.

16. **שָׁכַב** signifies literally jacuit, coivit, and **שְׁכִיבָה**, cubatio, coitus. That the Seventy have taken **שְׁכִיבָה** in this sense appears from the very translation **καὶ ἐκστασις**; for to apply a word which signifies cubile, to express effusio, is a metaphor so forced and unnatural, that it is hardly to be



be supposed in any writer whatsoever. It is our author's intention to shew that *κοίτη* admits the sense of semen; but neither the Greek nor the Hebrew word is capable of that sense, where the one is followed by *σπέρματος*, the other by *זרע*. With respect to Rom. ix. 10. which these passages in the Septuagint are designed to illustrate, though more difficult themselves than the passage in question, the clearest and earliest explanation is that given by Dr. Rosenmüller, in his Scholia in N. T. *Κοίτη* respondens hebr. *מִשְׁכָּב* et *שְׁכַבְתָּ* primo sensu est cubile, deinde per metonymiam adjuncti *σπέρματος* sic exprimitur concubitus: deinde per longius euntem figuram conceptio, quod inde patet, quia additur *ἐξ ενός*, et concipere ex aliquo dicitur.

17. The reason assigned by Eve for calling her first born son *קין* is *קניתי איש*.

## PAGE 128.

18. It is true that *כֵּן דִּבַּרְתָּ* is translated Exod. x. 29. by *ερηκας*, but the Hebrew as well as the Greek verb in this instance is rather expressive of command, than of affirmation or approbation, and *כֵּן* may be more properly translated 'thus' than either 'rightly' or 'well,' which last is used in the English version, for though Moses complied, he approved not the conduct of Pharaoh. The king of Egypt had ordered Moses to depart from his presence, and had threatened him with death if he again ventured to approach him; to which Moses replied, 'Thou hast thus commanded, I will see thy face no more.'

19. Even in Attic Greek similar expressions were used to denote affirmation. *Πάλιν ο Κυρος πρῶτα· Ουκὲν ὑγερὸν, ὡς αὐτὸς σὺ ἀμολογεῖς, ἀδ' ὑπ' ἐμῶ ἀδικεῖμενος, ἀποσας εἰς Μυσοὺς κακὸς ποιεῖς τὴν ἐμὴν χώραν, ο τι εἶπες* Εφη ο Θροῦλης.

Xenophont. Exp. Cyr. min. Lib. I. c. 6. p. 55. ed. Zeune.

20. In the following literal translation the order of the Arabic words is retained, *tu dixisti, et contra spiritum tuum testatus es.*

†

21. Of

21. Of this singular people, who live in the neighbourhood of Mount Lebanon, are governed by their own Emir, who is independent of the Turks, and have a religion peculiar to themselves, a full and accurate description may be seen in Eichhorn's Repertorium, Vol. XII. p. 108—224. Those who are unacquainted with German literature will find the best account in Adler's *Museum Cusicum Borgianum*, Romæ 1782. Likewise Arvieux and Niebuhr have described them in their *Travels*.

22. Because no one would correct λαλεῖν to πληρεῖν, whereas the other correction is natural and obvious.

23. Our author refers here to his Note on 1 Macc. iv. 19. and he there refers to this part of his Introduction; but in both places is given the same explanation of πληρω, and nearly in the same words.

PAGE 129.

24. Our author's conjecture that ܠܠܡ was used 1 Macc. iv. 19. in the original language in which that book was written, is highly probable, as the Syriac translator has ܠܠܡ, and Josephus διαλεγομαι. Nor is it improbable that the Greek translator either mistook ܠܠܡ, locutus est, for ܠܠܡ, implevit, or in the copy from which he translated found the latter falsely written for the former. He translated therefore literally by πληρω the word which either was in his copy, or which he supposed to be there: but it is neither a necessary nor a probable consequence, that πληρω through this mistake acquired the sense of the verb, which ought to have been translated.

Our author goes even a step further, and on the supposition that πληρω admits the sense of loquor, makes a transition to that of doceo, which he applies to Matth. v. 17. Luke vii. 1. Rom. xv. 19. This is to invent a sense for which there is no authority; but even if πληρω were capable of that meaning, we should be no gainers by its application to these three passages, which are perfectly intelligible, according to their literal translation. With respect to the first, Matth. v. 17. οὐκ ἦλθον καταλῦσαι  
scil.

(scil. νομον και προφητας), αλλα πληρωσαι, it seems to be our author's intention to obviate an ancient objection to this passage, 'that Christ abolished the Mosaic law, and therefore cannot be said to have fulfilled it.' But it may be replied to this new explanation, that if Christ taught the Mosaic law, he cannot be said to have abolished it. Dr. Campbell has rendered the passage, 'I am not come to destroy, but to ratify;' and in different commentaries we find different explanations, all of which are grounded on the supposition that Christ had formally abolished the law of Moses. But where does this appear from any one single speech or action of our Saviour? He was circumcised, educated as a Jew, frequented the synagogue, supported the honour of the temple, and sanctioned by his presence the celebration of the Jewish feasts. He censured the hypocrisy of the Pharisees, and the false glosses of the Rabbins; but he respected the honour of their lawgiver, and shewed in his general conduct a deference to the rules prescribed by the Pentateuch. His declaration to the woman of Samaria, that the time should come when they should neither worship on mount Gerizim nor in Jerusalem, relates only to the holiness of the place of worship; and implies by no means an abolition of the forms, that were then in use in the synagogue of Judæa, which are practised by the Jews at this very day in every quarter of the globe, as far as circumstances permit. It is true that Christ proposed in one or two instances an amendment of the Mosaic laws, for instance in that relative to divorces. But an amendment of a single, or even of several laws cannot be construed into a formal abolition of the whole constitution: and this last-mentioned example in particular affects not our present question, which relates not to the civil polity of the Jews, but to their religious rites and ceremonies. If Christ had commanded his disciples to reject the Mosaic institutions, would the Apostles assembled at Jerusalem, some time after his death, have commanded, in the instructions which they sent to the converts at Antioch, an abstinence

from meats offered to idols, from blood, and from things strangled, in the same sentence, and in the same positive manner, as they commanded an abstinence from fornication\*? Would St. Peter, before he had the vision in the house of Cornelius, have made a distinction between the Jew and the Gentile<sup>b</sup>? And when in consequence of the vision he preached to the uncircumcised, would his behaviour have excited astonishment among the elders and brethren in Jerusalem<sup>c</sup>? It is a known fact that the primitive Christians in Jerusalem, till the capture of that city by the Romans, still adhered to the Levitical law, and had not the severe penalties inflicted by Hadrian on the Jews deterred the Christians in *Ælia Capitolina* from exercising the rites of the synagogue, it is probable that in the countries adjacent to Palestine, the example of the Nazarenes would have been more generally followed, and the law of Moses united with the faith of Christ. The outward forms of the Jewish religion, objects unworthy the attention of our Saviour, he permitted to take their natural course; he delivered doctrines and precepts for the belief and conduct of his followers, but left it undetermined, whether the edifice in which they assembled should be called a synagogue or a church. Instead therefore of taking refuge in forced explanations to rescue the passage from contradiction, where no contradiction exists, we may reply to the objection, that its premises are false.

25. It is probable that the ancient Hebrew or South Canaanitic became extinct as a living language during the captivity; the Jewish children, who were born in Babylon, having learnt Chaldee, in the same manner as the children of the French refugees have learnt English; who would be unable, should they return to their original country, to speak the language of their ancestors.

## PAGE 431.

26. This quotation from the Talmud has little similarity to Rom. ii. 1—11. which, as our author himself says,

\* Acts xv. 29.

<sup>b</sup> Acts x. 14. 28.<sup>c</sup> Acts xi. 1—3.

says, it is designed to illustrate: and even the single Rabbinical expressions, if we except one instance, vary materially from those, which are supposed to correspond to them in the Greek. In the passage of Hosea, to which reference is made at the end of the quotation; no allusion is made to *judicium veritatis*.

27. Published by Dr. Frank, at Halle. in 1742. In the page to which our author refers, the Indian proverb itself is quoted, *Yaney oritudi nurheigrâ pole, ac si elephantus per ostiolum intrare gestiret.*

## PAGE 133.

28. But if the subject were not in some respects new, how could Nicodemus answer, ver. 9. *ἡμεῖς οὐκ οἶμεν ταῦτα γενέσθαι*; The regeneration described John ii. 3—19. is not purely Rabbinical, for the Rabbins ascribed it to baptism and circumcision, whereas it is here ascribed to baptism and the spirit. See Meuschen's Nov. Test. ex Talmude illustratum, p. 301.

29. I must ask pardon of our author for having substituted this sentence in place of a long confutation of absurd opinions, from which the English reader would derive neither entertainment nor instruction.

30. This work, which is written in German, was published at Gottingen in 1784, but it is not one of the best of his productions. In the section to which he refers, he gives precisely the same explanation as in this Introduction.

31. The examples produced by Buxtorf, in the place to which reference is here made, are rather a confirmation of the common explanation, than of that given by our author: at least Buxtorf explains *לְשׁוֹם שְׁמֵי* by *propter Deum*, which corresponds to the common explanation of *ἐν ὀνόματι Χριστοῦ* by *propter Christum*.

## PAGE 134.

32. *וְגִבְעָה אֲשֶׁר לְבִנְיָמִן*, Judges xix. 14.

33. Dr. Rosenmüller, in his Note to this passage, makes the following very just remark on this explanation of

of our author, *Præferenda esset sine dubio hæc explicatio, si Marcus addidisset verbum γεγραπται, vel λεγει η γραφη* ut Rom. xi. 2.

## PAGE 135.

34. See Note 4. to sect. 3<sup>d</sup> of this chapter. But beside the two principal divisions into East and West Aramæan, or Chaldee and Syriac, a branch of this language has been discovered by Professor Adler, which differs in some respects from both, and is described in the third part of the *Novi Testamenti Versiones Syriacæ, Simplex, Philoxeniana, et Hierosolymitana, denuo examinatæ, et ad fidem Codd. MSS. Bibl. Vaticanæ, Angelicæ, Asser- manianæ, Medicææ, Regiæ, aliarumque, novis obs. atque tabulis æneis illustratæ* a J. G. Adler, Hafniæ 1789, 4<sup>to</sup>.

35. Livy, (Lib. XXVIII. c. xxxviii.) speaking of the chief magistrates of Carthage, names them not Consules, but according to the Phœnician language, *Sufetes*, a word which corresponds to the Heb. שופטים. The single Chaldee words here mentioned by our author are explained in the Lexicons to the New Testament.

36. As this treatise is written in German, it is necessary to give an abstract of our author's explanation of these three passages. The expression γευσσθαι θάνατον, John viii. 52. Heb. ii. 9. he illustrates by two Syriac passages from the works of Ephraem. The first is taken from Assermani Bibl. Orient. Tom. I. 51. ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ, which, translated word for word, is 'one death is over us which we shall taste.' The other example, taken from Ephraem's Commentary on Genesis, Tom. I. p. 46. explains at the same time the reason of the metaphor, the expression being used 'to taste the cup of death,' ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ. To obviate the objection that might be made to this Syriasm, that the expression was made by a Syrian Christian, who might have adopted it from the New Testament, he produces a quotation from an Arabic Heathen poet, who uses the same phrase, 'to drink the cup of death, or destruction,' ڪاس حن.

2 Cor. xii. 7. εδοθη μοι σχολος τη σαρκι αγγελος Σα-  
ταν,

ταν, ινα με κολαφίζη. Our author, having previously observed that it was usual among the Jews to ascribe all diseases to the influence of evil spirits, who were considered as emissaries of Satan, produces the following similar expression of a Syriac writer, (Assemani Bib. Or. Tom. I. p. 215.) who, speaking of a disorder with which he had been afflicted, says, that he was 'smitten on the cheek on account of his sins,' ܐܡܝܢ ܕܠܘܨܝ ܕܥܝܢܝܝܐ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ.

The third example σκανδαλίζω he illustrates from the use of the Syriac verb ܥܠܝܢ. It is generally said that σκανδαλίζεσθαι εν τινι is an Hebraism, because the common Greek expression is προσκοπῆναι τινι, or εις τι, and it is explained as such in Vorstii Comment. de Hebraismis N. T. cap. xxiv. §. 10. where recourse is had to the Hebrew word ܥܠܝܢ. Now as the Hebrew and Syriac verbs are in this instance precisely the same, it seems at first sight a matter of indifference whether we use the term Hebraism or Syriaism; but as the Syriac translator of the N. T. renders σκανδαλίζω by ܥܠܝܢ, and the Heb. ܥܠܝܢ is translated σκανδαλίζω in only one instance of the Septuagint, viz. Dan. xi. 41. and even this instance was unknown when our author first published his treatise on the Syriac language, the Codex Chigianus being printed in 1772, he was certainly justified in referring it to the class of Syriaisms.

37. This sense is ascribed to it neither in Castelli Lexicon Heptaglotton, nor in Buxtorf's Lexicon, Chald. Talm. Rabbinicum, though the elder Buxtorf devoted his whole life to the study of Rabbinical writings.

38. The literal translation of the original is 'inhabitation of the Holy Spirit.' Our author, to shew that ܥܠܝܢ, which signifies in Pael text, obumbravit, is applied to express the inhabitation of the Holy Spirit, refers to 2 Chron. ii. 55. but that chapter has only eighteen verses, and relates to a totally different subject. Buxtorf has quoted near twenty passages where ܥܠܝܢ is used in the Chaldee paraphrase, but he has explained none of them in that particular sense which is here adopted by our author. And even if we admit that ܥܠܝܢ is capable



of this meaning, it does not appear what inference can be deduced with respect to *ἐνομαζω*, which is used in the Septuagint for *יָצַק* habitavit, and *יָצַק* texit.

## PAGE 136.

39. Here it is extremely difficult to comprehend the force of our author's reasoning, even if we add a circumstance which he has omitted, though absolutely necessary in order to enforce his argument, viz. that *ἐνομαζω*, Luke i. 35. is translated in the Syriac version by *ܬܝܬܝܬ* texit. Hence is derived *ܬܝܬܝܬ* thalamus, probably from the hangings with which it was ornamented, but no inference can be deduced from a derivative to its primitive, and the accessory idea which takes place in the substantive, forms no part of the notion expressed by the verb. If then the notion of a nuptial bed is incapable of being transferred from the Syriac noun to the Syriac verb, still less can it be transferred to the Greek verb, for which it is used. See Castelli Lexicon Hept. p. 346. 577.

## PAGE 137.

40. This work of our author is written in German, and was published at Halle in 1783. In the part to which he refers, he gives the same explanation of *παρὰ-οὐρανὸν* as in this Introduction, and likewise illustrates its use from passages of the Greek fathers.

41. As our author explains *ἐπιφωσκω*, Matth. xxviii. 1. Luke xxiii. 54. as a Syriaism, and has recourse to the verb *ܬܝܬܝܬ* it is natural to suppose that it is the verb which is used by the Syriac translator for *ἐπιφωσκω*, but he has rendered it in both places by *ܐܬܝܬܝܬ*.

42. I have been obliged to retain this term, with the alteration only of its termination, because it has acquired in German the force of a proper name. Every reader will know that it is derived from *χρηστομαθία*, which signifies loci optimi et delecti e scriptore. The Germans then use the expression Syrische Chrestomathie to express what we should entitle Selecta e scriptoribus Syris.

43. The

43. The quotation which our author here produces from Assemani Bib. Or. Tom. I. p. 212. differs from the text of the original, in respect to the very word for which the quotation is made, for ;ܣܐ is not used in that passage. The text in Asseman is ܣܝܒܝܢ ܥܡܝܢ. This example therefore is of no use on the present occasion: the same may be said of the second example from Asseman, where ܣܝܒܝܢ is likewise used.

44. The bald manner, in which our author has translated the Syriac, has unavoidably occasioned the same bald translation in the English, it being the duty of a translator to represent faithfully the ideas of the writer, whose works he delivers to the public, and to attend not only to the meaning of a quotation, as it is generally understood, but as it is understood in particular by his author. This will serve as an apology for the use of the extraordinary and unclassical expression 'to light in.' The German word is hereinleuchten, which is an active verb, and signifies to 'introduce with lights,' and has a very different meaning from the neuter verb luceſco, the usual translation of ;ܣܐ, and which is adopted by Joseph Simon Asseman, a Syrian by birth. See Assemani Bibl. Orient. Tom. II. p. 257. It is allowable to say that the day is introduced by the night, but the notion of the day being lighted in by the night involves so manifest a contradiction, that neither the assistance of a metaphor, nor of any other figure of rhetoric, is sufficient to defend it.

45. In the Arabic Chrestomathy, or Selecta e scriptoribus Arabicis, p. 97. is used the verb ٴفٴر, to which our author refers as an instance where the Arabic verb signifies aperuit, and this is alleged as a proof that the Syriac ;ܣܐ admits the same meaning. Now setting aside the inconclusiveness of this etymological argument, ٴفٴر signifies literally and properly fodit, and is particularly applied to the bed of a river, corresponding to the Hebrew 777. See Castelli Lexicon Heptaglotton, p. 2236. where likewise the meaning of the verb ;ܣܐ may be seen,

which, as well as the Chaldee verb ܢܬܐ, is explained by no word expressive of *aperuit*.

## PAGE 138.

46. But if the Chaldee ܢܬܐ, and the Syriac ܐܬܐ, signify literally and properly illuxit, what necessity is there for having recourse to an unwarranted literal sense, in order to have the trouble of returning to a sense which is here called figurative, though really literal. No one will deny that the Eastern nations united the idea of an opening with that of the break of day; ܫܚܪ, aurora, is nearly connected with ܫܚܪ fidit, and ܒܩܪ diluculum, with ܒܩܪ fidit. The connexion is natural between the dawn of day and rays of light breaking through the clouds, but if ܐܬܐ is applied to express the commencement of the Jewish day, which began at sun-set, all connexion is destroyed between this literal sense of the verb, provided this sense exists, and the rising of the sun.

47. Namely the two first Syriac passages, for our author makes no use of the third, because ܐܬܐ is not used there. But we must not forget that though ܐܬܐ is found in the second example in our author's text, it is not in that of Asselman: we have therefore no other concern than with the first example.

48. Here our author's argument proves against himself, for if we say 'the night of Tuesday opens the great fast day,' which can have no other meaning than 'the night of Tuesday introduces the great fast day,' it is a contradiction to say that the great fast day began the evening before. To set this matter in a clear light, we must recollect that the word Day is used in a two-fold sense, either in opposition to darkness or night, or expressive of a period of four and twenty hours, which among the Jews began at sun-set. Now when ܐܬܐ is immediately preceded by ܠܝܠܐ, nox, as in this example, there can be no doubt, even if we admit the sense ascribed to it by our author, that it refers to the natural, not the civil day.

49. If

49. If 'Saturday afternoon at five o'clock' were expressed in the original Syriac, and ܣܬܝܢ used on that occasion, there would be some reason for admitting the sense ascribed by our author to the Syriac verb. But in Assemani Bib. Or. Tom. I. p. 212. whence our author quotes the passage in part, and gives a translation of the rest, no mention is made of Saturday afternoon at five o'clock, but on the contrary ܬܪܬܝܐ ܠܝܠܐ, *tertiâ hora noctis*.

50. But if the arguments, which have been used to prove this extent of meaning, appear insufficient, its application to *ἐπιφωσκω* is of course inadmissible.

51. But *die dominica inlucescente*, immediately preceded by *medium noctis*, must necessarily relate to the morning, and Adler has quoted these words with that very view. He has likewise produced a passage from Epiphanius, where *ἐπιφωσκω* is applied to the morning, but the difficulty is to find a passage where it is applied to the evening. If *ἐπιφωσκω*, Matth. xxviii. 1. Luke xxiii. 54. be explained as a Syriasm, the verb most suitable to the occasion is undoubtedly ܣܬܝܢ. This is used in both passages by the Syriac translator of the New Testament; we have here therefore an evident connexion between the Syriac and the Greek verb established by actual usage; and as the writers of the Greek Testament were more accustomed to the Syriac than the Greek, it was by no means improbable that they should take in an equal latitude two words, that were reciprocally translated the one by the other. In Castelli Lex. Hept. ܣܬܝܢ is explained *illuxit*, but it is added, *dicitur etiam de luce nocturna*, and the noun ܣܬܝܢ is explained *vespera*. Now it is true that no inference can be deduced from a derivative to a primitive, but there is an instance in the Syriac version where the verb itself, or, which is the same thing, the participle, seems applied to the evening. John xix. 31. the Greek text *Οἱ οὖν Ἰουδαῖοι, ἵνα μὴ μείνῃ ἐπὶ τῷ σταυρῷ τὰ σώματα ἐν τῷ σαββάτῳ, ἐπει-  
πάρασκευσεν ἡν, (ἡν γὰρ μεγάλη ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνη τῷ σαββάτῳ)  
ἠρώτησαν, κ. τ. λ.* is thus expressed in the Syriac version,  
Judæi

Judei autem quia parasceve erat dixerunt, Non pernoctabunt corpora hac in cruce, quia sabbatum illucescebat, (ܐܘܪܝܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ). It is an extraordinary circumstance that this expression is here used in the Syriac, though wanting in our present Greek text, but the verb *ܐܘܪܝܐ* is applied to the sabbath itself, exactly in the same manner as Luke xxiii. 54. and to the day following the sabbath, Matth. xxviii. 1. Now whoever compares the verse above quoted, viz. John xix. 31. with the events recorded in the preceding and following verses, will be convinced that the subject relates not to the morning, but to the evening. By these means therefore the conclusion of our author may be established, though by premises different from his own. The preceding explanation is given merely on the supposition, that our author is right in endeavouring to procure for *ἐπιφωσκειν* a new sense in Matth. xxviii. 1. But in fact the context at Matth. xxviii. 1. *ὥς τε σάββατον, τῇ ἐπιφωσκεισῇ εἰς μίαν σάββατον*, neither requires, nor admits, any other sense for *ἐπιφωσκειν*, than the usual one. *ὥς τε σάββατον* does not signify "in the evening of the sabbath," but "on the close of the sabbath," or "when the sabbath was ended:" for *ὥς*, when used as a preposition before a genitive case, signifies "at the close," or "at the end." See Schleusner's Lexicon, s. v. Consequently *τῇ ἐπιφωσκεισῇ* (scil. *ἡμέρῃ*) *εἰς μίαν σάββατον*, can have no other meaning than "the day dawning toward the first of the week," or the "twilight on Sunday morning having just commenced." Our author himself, about two years after he had published the last edition of his Introduction, adopted this explanation; for in his German version of the New Testament, printed in 1790, he translated Matth. xxviii. 1. thus; "In der Dämmerung nach dem Sabbath, als der erste Tag der Woche antrach." This translation manifestly shews that he had then abandoned the explanation of *ἐπιφωσκειν* as Matth. xxviii. 1. which he gave in his Introduction. Even Luke xxiii. 54. he has rendered by "Der Tag, da dies geschah war ein Freytag, gleich vor antrach des Sabbaths,"

Sabbaths," which shews that he there also understood *επιφωσκω* as applying to the morning light.

52. *سج* signifies properly *brevis et compressus*; why our author has used this word in the feminine I am unable to explain. With respect to the derivation of *ܣܝܐ* from this Arabic word, it is attended with the following inconvenience. Though in the formation of Chaldee and Syriac nouns substantive, it does appear to be usual to add to the radicals of the word, from which they are derived, the termination *ܢܝ*, yet the Nun in *ܣܝܐ* seems to be a radical, and Nun is wanting in the Arabic word, from which our author derives the Syriac. Neither Schaaf or Castet have derived it from any Syriac radix, but the latter has placed it in the same class with the Hebrew word *סַי*, *fera*.

53. It is true that they are distinct words, but all three have a common meaning, and all three perhaps a common origin, for *Sajin*, *Nun*, and *a quiescent*, seems to be the radical part of each. Buxtorf derives *ܣܝܐ* from *ܣܝܐ* *scottari*, considering *tarēs* as a kind of spurious corn; why therefore may not the Syriac noun be derived from *ܣܝܐ*, which corresponds to the Chaldee *ܣܝܐ*, and the Arabic *سج*. But here again the repetition of the first radical creates a difficulty, and after all, the word in question is perhaps an *ωνοματοποιημενον*, in which case all attempts to discover a radix must be fruitless.

54. The word here used in the German is *Mittagsmahlzeit*, which signifies properly noon-meal: I have been obliged to render it by dinner, though it is not an accurate translation, because the word dinner, in consequence of an alteration in the time of eating in England has altered its meaning, and no longer corresponds to *prandium*, but to *cœna*. With respect to the time when the Greeks partook of their meal which they called *αρισον*, see Potter's *Greek Antiquities*, Vol. II. B. IV. ch. 16. and Kypke *Obs. sacræ*, Tom. I. p. 414.

## PAGE 139.

55. **כרוםפרא**, *κρασπεδον*, ora, simbria, limbus, Buxtorf's Lex. Ch. Talm. Rabb. p. 1097. I know not why our author has written it in the plural, unless it is, to render its similarity still greater to the Greek singular.

56. Our author probably concludes that **כרוםפרא** signifies a tassel, as well as the border of a garment, because this word in the Chaldee paraphrase, Numb. xv. 38. is immediately followed by **כנף**, which in the Latin translation of the Chaldee Paraphrase is rendered *angulus*. Likewise the Hebrew **כנף** is rendered in the same passage *πτερυγιον* by the Seventy, and *angulus* by Jerom.

57. As pearls are the produce of the East, it is more reasonable to suppose that the Greeks borrowed the name from the Orientalists. In Arabic and Persian **صرجان** signifies a pearl, whence the Greeks derived their *μαργαρον*, nor is it necessary to have recourse to the termination of *μαργαριτης*, because **אן** is a very common termination of nouns substantive, both in Syriac and Chaldee.

58. **جوهر** signifies both *lapis pretiosus*, and *margarita*, and the Arabic translator of the New Testament has used this word for *μαργαριτης* in the three passages quoted by our author, viz. Matth. vii. 6. xiii. 46. Rev. xxi. 21.

59. Our author refers to the four passages, Rev. ii. 24. Gal. vi. 2. 5. and Rom. xv. 1. as instances where the Arabic proverb is used. In the first we find simply *εβαλω εφ' υμας αλλο βαρος*, in the second *αλληλων τα βαρη βασαζετε*, in the third *εκατος το ιδιον φορτιον βασασει*, in the fourth *τα ασθενηματα των αδυνατων βασαζειν*. Now it does not appear that the imputation of guilt to an innocent person, instead of the culprit, is a notion applicable to any one of these passages. Besides, the Arabic proverb is so natural, and so common in all languages, that instead of an Arabism, it might be rather termed an universalism.



60. **صلي علي** signifies literally 'to pray upon,' which implies an imposition of hands, and therefore a blessing. This expression is used for *προσευχομαι* in the Arabic version, Matth. xix. 13.

61. The Seventy have here used *καλανυξις*, and that they did not intend to express the notion of remorse, appears from its being the translation of a word which signifies sleep: and that St. Paul understood it in a similar sense, appears from the addition of the words *οφθαλμους τε μη βλεπειν, και ωλα τε μη ακειν*. This effect is produced by slumber, but not by remorse.

## PAGE 140.

62. The passage to which our author alludes in his *Supplementa ad Lexica Hebraica* is the following: 'Alto sopore oculos gravante vel invitis claudente, Arabes fingunt ~~eum~~ oculos tanquam acu consuere, vide phrasin in Chrest. Arab. p. 66. consuit oculus punctio somni.' Now admitting it to be a proverbial expression in Arabic, 'Sleep sews his eyes together,' it does not appear in what manner it can be applied to explain *καλανυξις*. If the Seventy were acquainted with the proverb, and had intended to express the metaphor, they would have rather used *καλαρραπιω* than *καλανυσσω*. Our author seems to have been led to this method of explaining why *καλανυξις* signifies sleep, by the similarity of the ideas expressed by the words *pungo* and *consuo*, *qui enim consuit, is etiam pungit*; but this concatenation probably never occurred to the authors of the Alexandrine version. Besides, not only **תרדמה**, *sopor*, is translated *καλανυξις*, but **רמם**, *filuit*, is translated *καλανυσσομαι*. The analogy between silence and sleep is obvious; but whatever similarity the imagination can discover between sleep and sewing the eyes together, there is no immediate connexion between this metaphor and silence. It seems therefore a more probable conjecture, as *καλανυσσάζω* signifies *dormio* in the classic authors, that in the common dialect of Alexandria, where the authors of

of the Greek version resided, the two verbs were confounded; and this is the more credible, as *καταναζω* is no where used in the Septuagint, nor *κατανασσω* in any classic author. Compare Trommii Concord. Tom. I. p. 854. with Stephani Thesaurus, Tom. II. p. 1107. Should this supposition be admitted, the example would belong to a following section.

63. *باطل* is an adjective signifying vanus, but admitting that when used as a substantive with the article prefixed, as our author has written it, it signifies mendacium, is it a necessary consequence that *ρηλα αργον*, Matth. xii. 36. signifies likewise mendacium? The Arabic translator has rendered *ρημα αργον* literally by *كلمة باطلة*, and the Syriac translator has used the same adjective; both translators therefore understood *αργος* in the sense, in which it is usually taken. Our author adds, that the Chaldee word *ܠܬܠܝܢ* signifies mendacia: now this is the plural of the part. Benoni, from *ܠܬܠ* cessavit. Perhaps it should be written either *ܠܬܠܝܢ* or *ܠܬܠܝܢ*, but Buxtorf has ascribed to neither of these words, nor to any one of the derivations of *ܠܬܠ* the sense of mendacium. See Vorstius de Hebraïsmis Nov. Test. cap. iii. § 6. and Fischeri Prousiones de viis Lexicorum Nov. Test. Lipsiæ 1791. p. 566—571.

64. Matth. xxi. 32. *εν οδω δικαιοσυνης* is rendered literally in the Arabic version *بطريق العدل*. The Arabic translator then has used *طريق* in the sense of via, and not in that of religio, nor is this sense ascribed to it either by Golius or Castell. 'To walk in the religion of righteousness' is much more harsh than 'to walk in the path of righteousness.' Of this our author is sensible, and therefore explains *ηλθε προς υμας* by *attulit*: with what justice the learned must determine.

65. If the word used for *οδος* be understood in the sense of 'high road,' our author is certainly right in objecting to the common translation; but as the whole expression is figurative, there can be no impropriety in saying, 'John came to you walking in the path of righteousness.'

reousness.' The metaphor is accurate, the sense clear, and very frequently used in the book of Psalms; but the interpretation of our author seems at least to do violence to every part of the sentence.

66. In the passage of the Koran, to which our author alludes, the word **فرح** is used, which signifies *lætus fuit*, and also *protervus fuit*. Now admitting that **فرح** in this passage of the Koran conveys the idea of insult or ridicule, it is no necessary consequence that *αγαλλιαομαι*, John v. 35. has the same meaning, especially as the Arabic translator of the N. T. has used a totally different verb, having rendered *αγαλλιαομαι* by **ه** *exultavit*, *præ lætitiâ exclamavit*.

67. **بشر** *nuntiavit*, in the second conj. **بشر** *evangelizavit*, *annuntiavit*. It is used in the Arabic version, Acts xiv. 15. But as the Arabic is a translation of the Greek, and not the Greek of the Arabic, may not this use of *εὐαγγελίζω* be rather referred to **בשר** *enuntiavit*, as St. Luke was much better acquainted with Chaldee than Arabic. It may be observed in general that an explanation of passages in the New Testament, that deviate from classic purity, by help of the Arabic should be admitted with great caution, as this language is connected with that of the Greek Testament in those cases only, where its turns of expression coincide with the Syriac. The French, Italian, and Spanish are so nearly allied, that they are termed in general dialects of the Latin, yet in an English composition written by a Frenchman, no one would explain the deviations from classic purity as Italicisms, or Hispanisms, but would naturally refer them to the class of Gallicisms. In the same manner the peculiarities observable in the style of the Greek Testament must be necessarily ascribed to the native language of the sacred writers.

Among other peculiarities in the language of the Greek Testament, it is well known that the dual number is not used; but I recollect no instance of any attempt

that has been made to account for its omission. Perhaps it may be explained as a Syriaism, for the dual was not used in Syriac, except in the three words expressive of duo, ducenti, and Ægyptus utraque inferior et superior. The sacred writers therefore neglected the dual in writing a foreign language, because they were not accustomed to it in their own. Likewise in the Hebrew the use of the dual was usually confined to such objects, as existed in pairs, such as יד the hand : and it is possible that the distinction between dual and plural even in such cases was a refinement of later ages, as the difference is marked only by the points, whereas in the Arabic it is denoted by the letters themselves. In our present Masoretic text יד is very frequently used in the dual, but though χεῖρ occurs in above a thousand instances in the Septuagint, it is constantly used either in the singular or in the plural. Whether this circumstance justifies the preceding supposition with respect to the Hebrew, or is rather to be ascribed to the dialect of Alexandria, I leave the learned to determine. But whether this distinction between the two numbers existed before the time of Christ or not, is a matter of little consequence, because the sacred writers were more accustomed to the Greek version than the Hebrew original, and as this was probably the only Greek book that was an object of their study, they were as little accustomed to the dual in the Greek as in the Syriac.

## S E C T. VI.

## PAGE 141.

1. The Hebrew word for seed is זרע, which signifies figuratively soboles, posteri, and this is the usual figurative sense of σπέρμα. See Gen. iv. 25. Lev. xviii. 21. Num. xiv. 24. Deut. i. 8, &c., where זרע is taken in this sense, and translated in the Septuagint σπέρμα.

The

2. The German word used by our author is entflo-  
hener, which signifies literally one who has made his  
escape or a refugee: but the meaning ascribed to שריד  
in every Lexicon is superstes, reliquus, and if we depart  
from this meaning all connexion between שריד and  
σπέρμα in the sense of 'remnant' is destroyed.

3. These are the only two instances in the whole  
Septuagint, but σπέρμα is used for ערע in 189 examples.  
The figurative sense then, which the Seventy usually  
ascribe to σπέρμα is that of 'progeny,' nor is this sense  
irreconcilable with שריד superstes, as in general chil-  
dren survive their parents.

## PAGE 142.

4. Wetstein has produced one passage from Plato,  
and two from Josephus, but it does not appear that the  
notion of reliquiæ is any otherwise applicable to σπέρμα  
in these examples, than as it is applicable to progeny in  
general. Wetstein is totally silent as to his own opinion,  
for he has quoted the example without adding a single  
remark, or explaining the purpose for which they are  
alleged.

## S E C T. VII.

## PAGE 143.

1. It is printed in the 48<sup>th</sup>. volume of the Philosophi-  
cal Transactions.

2. The full title of this book is, Reflexions sur l'Al-  
phabet, et sur la Langue dont on se servoit autrefois à  
Palmyre, par l'Abbé Barthelemy, avec fig. Paris 1755.  
fol.

3. Wetstein, in the passage to which our author re-  
fers, says of ἱεροφάντης, vox Ægyptiis primum usurpata.  
Jablonski in Prol. § 39. gives a description of the several  
orders of the Ægyptian priests. Now our author seems  
to have confounded two questions that must be carefully  
distinguished, 1. Whether the notion expressed by the

word prophet was first received in Egypt. 2. Whether the Greek word *προφητης*, used to express that notion, was first adopted by the Alexandrine writers. The latter is the only object of our present inquiry; but the place, to which he refers in Jablonski, is totally unconnected with this question. Wetstein has expressed himself in a dubious manner; but whoever examines the passages which he had produced from Diogenes Laertius, Lucian, Plutarch, and Pausanias, will be convinced that they relate merely to the notion expressed by *προφητης*, and not to the word itself. Stephanus, in his explanation of *προφητης*, quotes from Plato, who lived before Alexandria existed, and Potter, in his Greek Antiquities, Vol. I. B. II. ch. 9. has produced the two following verses of an ancient Delphian poetess.

Ωλην θ', ος γενετο πρωτος Φοιβοιο προφatas  
 Πρωτος δ' αρχαιων επων τεκτηνατ' αοιδαν.

But if our author really designs to be understood of the idea alone, there is no necessity for having recourse to Egypt in particular, since in every nation there have existed persons, who have made pretensions to the power of foretelling future events.

PAGE 144.

4. The difference between the classical and biblical sense of *αγγελος* is, that according to the former it signifies a messenger in general, according to the latter a messenger of the Deity in particular. Whether the latter application of it is to be ascribed to the Egyptians is a matter of great doubt, for it does not appear that this notion ever entered into the system of Egyptian mythology.

5. *Θιβη*, or as it is written by Trommius and Biel *Θιβη*, is found only in Exod. ii. 3. 5. and is there used for the vehicle in which Moses when a child floated on the river, and in which he was found by the daughter of Pharaoh. The learned are divided in their opinion whether *Θιβη* is originally

originally Egyptian or not. Didymus, in his *Grammatica Coptica*, p. 68. refuses it a place among pure Coptic words, yet no instance has been produced of it from a Greek writer, except Athenæus, who lived so late as the third century. Now the word is at least as ancient as the time of Moses, for it is used in the Hebrew, *Exod. ii. 3. 5.* and written מִצְרַיִם; and as this word has no radix in the Hebrew, and the vessel itself was Egyptian, it is reasonable to suppose that the name is likewise Egyptian. The best description of it may be seen in Forster's *Liber singularis de bysso antiquorum*, p. 113. Londini 1776. See also La Croze *Lexicon Ægyptiaco-Latinum*, ed. Woide, Oxon. 1775. art. ΘΗΒΙ.

6. It is confirmed by the testimony of Jerom, 'Audivi ab Ægyptiis hoc nomine (sc. Αχι) linguâ eorum cœne, quod in palude virens nascitur appellari.' Hieronym. ad *Esaïam xix. 7.* This Egyptian word was likewise adopted by Moses, and written מִצְרַיִם, (perhaps originally מִצְרַיִם, and the י lengthened into י by mistake in copying) *Gen. xli. 2.* where αχι is used in the Greek version; but in the passage of *Isaiah*, on which Jerom makes the above-mentioned remark, though αχι is used in the Septuagint, *Isaiah*, as might be expected from a writer unconnected with Egypt, has used a word that is purely Hebrew. This circumstance is not wholly undeserving our attention, because the use of מִצְרַיִם, *Exod. ii. 3. 5.* and of αχι, *Gen. xli. 2.* may be ascribed to the immediate influence of the Hebrew, but the translation of מִצְרַיִם by Αχι, *Isai. xix. 7.* is a proof that the word had been adopted in the Greek dialect of Alexandria.

To the Coptisms which have been produced by our author, may be added perhaps the following, as an attempt to account for the insertion of the vowel υ in Μου-σης, though no trace of it is to be found in the Hebrew מֹשֶׁה. The name given to Moses by the daughter of Pharaoh was Mo ushe, which in the Coptic signifies aquâ extractus, and is imperfectly expressed by מִשְׁה extra-hens. Josephus likewise, *Antiq. Lib. II. c. 9. § 6.* as-



signs the same reason, το γὰρ ὕδωρ μὴ οἱ Αἰγυπτίοι καλεῖται, ὕδατος δὲ τὰς ἐξ ὕδατος σωθίντας.

7. The peculiarities of the Alexandrine dialect must be divided into two separate classes. 1. Such as were derived from the Macedonic dialect spoken by the conquerors of Egypt. 2. Such as are to be ascribed to the Egyptian, the language of the conquered. Of the former a very learned and critical account may be seen in Fischeri *Prolusiones de vitiis Lex. Nov. Test.* Lipsiæ 1791, p. 659—727. With respect to the latter, the reader will find a very curious collection of Egyptian words, used not only in the Septuagint, but in the Hebrew and Greek writers in general, in Scholtz *Expositio vocabulorum Copticorum in scriptoribus Hebraicis ac Græcis obviatorum*, printed in the 13<sup>th</sup>. vol. of Eichhorn's *Repertorium*.

Professor Sturz, at Gera in Saxony, has written several dissertations entitled, *De dialecto Alexandrinâ, ratione simul habitâ versionis librorum V. I. græcorum*.

8. See Kypke *Obs. sacræ*, Tom. I. p. 174. But Kypke has not quoted Jamblicus as an Alexandrine author, nor is he to be considered as such; for though he is said to have died at Alexandria, he was a native of Chalcis in Cœlesyria, and a scholar of Porphyry.

9. It appears from Strabo's description of the *πτερεα* of the Egyptian temples, (p. 1159. of Almeloveen's edition, which ought to have been noted) that they were nothing more than two high walls which formed a kind of inclosure or court before the temple itself: its importance therefore on the present occasion seems not to be so great as our author describes it. Besides, the difficulty consists not in *πτερον*, but in *πτερυγιον*, for Wetstein in his Note to Matth. iv. 5. has produced a very sufficient number of examples, where *πτερον* and *πτερυξ* are applied to a building; but if we except the example from Eusebius, which had been borrowed from the Greek Testament, no instance has been found where the diminutive *πτερυγιον* is applied to a building. Julius Pollux applies it to *αρκυς*, *ναυτος*, *ριν*, *ισθμης*, *ναυς* and *πς*, but to no word expressive

five

five of an edifice, nor is it used in this manner even by the Seventy, who are undoubtedly to be considered as Alexandrine authors. Till an instance therefore can be produced from a Greek writer in which *πτερυγιον* itself is used as a part of a building, and its sense determined, (for an appeal to *πτερον* or *πτερυξ* is of no use), it must remain mere conjecture, whether the Evangelists intended to express a wing of the temple, or only a point or prominence. The Syriac translator has rendered it by *ala*; but as this word signifies likewise extremity, it is as difficult to determine the sense of the Syriac version, as of the Greek original. Jerom decides for pinnaculum, the Arabic translator for *ala*, unless we render *جناح* by a word, that is unsuitable to its derivation, merely out of compliment to the Vulgate.

10. In his *Exercitationes sacræ* in S. Pauli ep. ad Hebræos, ex Philone Alexandrino. Helmstadii 1750. The passage to which our author alludes is p. 140.

## PAGE 145.

11. The argument therefore is not dubious, but positive.

12. The festival of the Jews, described in the 9<sup>th</sup>. ch. of Esther, was in consequence of Esther's marriage with Ahasuerus; it does not appear therefore that no allusion can possibly be made to a wedding. But there is another passage in the book of Esther, ch. ii. 18. where *γαμος* is used, which our author has omitted, and which clearly decides in favour of the notion of wedding; for the marriage feast of Ahasuerus and Esther is there particularly described.

The following statement will set the matter in a clear light, and determine at once what sense the Seventy intended to ascribe to *γαμος*. The Hebrew word *משתה*, which signifies convivium in general, though it is sometimes applied in the sense of convivium nuptiale in particular, occurs forty-eight times in the Hebrew Bible. In the Septuagint it is rendered *δοχη*, *εὐφροσυνη*, *κωδιον*, *ποσις*, *ποτος*, *συμπόσιον*, and in three instances only by *γα-*

μος, viz. Gen. xxix. 22. Esther ii. 18. ix. 22. In the two first instances a marriage feast is particularly described, and in the third is given a description of a feast which was held in consequence of a marriage.

13. Γαμος is the reading of the Codex Vaticanus, μωμος of the Cod. Alexandrinus, but it is extraordinary that no word is here used in the Hebrew which corresponds to either; מַחְשֵׁה is used at the end of the verse, and there translated μωμος.

PAGE 146.

14. Compare Note 12 with Kypke's Obs. sacræ, Tom. I, p. 108.

15. Our author here reviews Dr. Teller's German translation of the Psalms, and censures the learned and ingenious translator for having rendered עָשָׂה in the first Psalm by a word expressive of ungodly. But עָשָׂה is explained in every Lexicon improbus, is rendered in this passage ἀσεβής by the Seventy, and, I believe, in a similar manner in every other version, except that of our author. The question whether עָשָׂה is to be translated in all cases 'unjust' and in no case 'ungodly,' can be determined only by a proper definition of the words, and an appeal to the passages, where עָשָׂה is used. Now the difference between injustice and ungodliness, is this, that the former is a violation of the duty, which we owe to other men, the latter a violation of the duty, which we owe to the Supreme Being. This distinction being admitted, the latter translation is in many instances not only admissible, but necessary.

16. And perhaps in many other cases with equal propriety by ἀσεβής, ἀσεβεία, ἀσεβία.

PAGE 147.

17. But the two questions are totally distinct. 1. Whether עָשָׂה can in no case signify 'ungodly.' 2. Whether ἀσεβής may not in some cases signify 'unjust.' The truth of the former is no necessary consequence of a concession of the latter. Now it is true that the notion of injustice is

is applicable to the passages which our author has produced from the Pentateuch, and to many, though not all of those which he has alleged from the prophets. But as the authors of the Alexandrine version were Jews, to whom the idea of the divine presence was more familiar than to other nations, who will undertake to determine, that in the use of a word derived from *σεβομαι*, the notion of an offence against the Deity did not unite itself with that of an offence against mankind?

18. But the notion expressed by the words צדק, צדִיק, עֲדִיקָה, though they are explained *justus*, and *justitia*, is by no means confined to the relation between man and man: on the contrary, they are frequently used in cases where the relation of man to the Deity alone is intended to be expressed, and where the notion of justice is inadmissible, for instance Gen. xv. 6. Deut. xxxiii. 19. Psalm iv. 6, &c.

19. It is true that the Arabic version of Isaiah, with that of most other books of the Old Testament, was made immediately from the Greek. But does it follow, because the Arabic translator has rendered *σεβειν* by صدیق, that he meant to confine its sense to *pietas erga homines*, without any intermixture of the notion expressed by *pietas erga Deum*? We have seen that the Hebrew word is sometimes confined to the latter sense alone: why then may not the Arabic word at least include that notion? It may be observed in general, as it is more easy to unite than to abstract ideas, that when two notions are so nearly allied as those of *pietas erga Deum*, and *pietas erga homines*, the line of separation is often so difficult to be discovered, that conclusions drawn from a translation are in most cases vague and indecisive.

20. This argument is unfavourable to our author's hypothesis, for the notions of alms and godliness, are much more nearly allied than those of alms and justice. A man may religiously abide by the laws of his country, without displaying generosity to the poor; whereas the duty which we owe to our Maker is very imperfectly fulfilled

fulfilled without charity to our neighbour. Besides, local circumstances contribute to unite the two former ideas, the place of public worship having been devoted, both in ancient and modern times, to the exercise of this duty: and the Arabic *عبد*, which corresponds to the Syriac and Chaldee, signifies, 1. Quicquid Deo dicatur; 2. Eleemosynæ.

21. The erudition displayed by our author in the two last pages is a prelude to the explanation of the two passages in the N. T. Rom. iv. 5. *ἐπὶ τοῖς δίκαιοντα τοῖς ἀσέβη*, and Rom. v. 6. *χρῖστος . . . ὑπὲρ ἀσέβων ἀπέθανε*. But surely no one will doubt that in these examples, especially in the last, the only notion intended to be expressed is that of our relation to the Supreme Being. The usual translation then of ‘ungodly,’ or ‘sinner,’ seems by no means improper, and unless we abide by the above-mentioned definition, the whole is a dispute about words.

22. For that very reason the notion of ‘pity’ is perfectly applicable to Luke i. 50. for Elizabeth was grown old without having had children, which among the Jews was considered as a very great misfortune.

#### PAGE 148.

23. It is certain that the word Pity, though every monarch in Europe would deign to use it on a similar occasion, is unsuitable to the manners of the East, and the age of the Patriarchs. But the notion expressed by *σέση* is wholly inapplicable, because neither consanguinity nor affinity subsisted at that time between Isaac and Rebecca.

24. In the Greek version of Daniel which is printed in all the editions of the Septuagint, *חמור* is rendered *ἀνὴρ ἐπιθυμίων*, but *ελεεινός* is used in this passage in Daniel secundum LXX ex Tetraplis Origenis, printed at Rome in 1772. This ought to have been noticed by our author, as every one understands by the Greek Bible the common printed text.

25. Yet

25. Yet רַחֵם is explained in every Lexicon misericordia, and whoever examines the passages produced in Buxtorf's Concordance, will find that it is often applied to persons who were really in misfortune, for instance Num. xiv. 19. and this is agreeable to the notion expressed by the word Pity. But as on the other hand it is sometimes applied even to objects of envy, it seems to have the extensive signification of kindness in general, the nature of which can be determined only by its mode of application. If then the Seventy, in translating the Old Testament, used ελεος, in the same latitude, it seems not unreasonable to ascribe it to the influence of the Hebrew. The question can be determined with certainty by no other means, than by producing an instance from some Alexandrine writer, who was unacquainted with that language, or at least did not translate from it. Our author argues here, with respect to רַחֵם, as he argued above with respect to רַחֵם, and in the explanation of words that admit of a two-fold application, having observed in many instances that they are applied in one manner, he seems too hastily to conclude that they are inapplicable in the other.

26. This circumstance alone proves nothing, for רַחֵם, among other senses, has that of debilis fuit. But if ασθενεω signifies cado in the Septuagint, how shall we explain the following passages, Psalm xxvi. 4. αὐτοὶ ησθηνσαν καὶ ἐπισον. cviii. 23. τὰ γόνατά μου ησθηνσαν, Dan. xi. 19. ασθενήσει καὶ πεσείται. Nahum iii. 3. ασθενησιν ἐν τοῖς σωμασιν αὐτῶν. The utmost therefore that can be allowed to ασθενεω in certain cases is that of titubo; for if we go a step further, and render it cado, we have in two of these examples a manifest tautology.

27. Here then ασθενεω acquires the last sense in the progression, impingo, titubo, cado, jaceo.

28. How can this be subversive of St. Paul's design? He describes the death of Christ as an expiatory sacrifice, which implies inability and weakness on the part of those for whom the sacrifice was made. The common translation therefore of ἀσθενῶντων ἡμῶν, 'while we were without

without strength,' or which is the same thing, 'we being unable to help ourselves,' seems perfectly well adapted to the tenor of the whole epistle.

## PAGE 149.

29. No other reason can be assigned for ascribing to *αυθιμα*, in this passage, the sense of *jaceo*, or even that of *cado*, than that the three verbs form a climax, and our author seems really to argue from their position. But the similar senses of *προσκειτω* and *σκανδαλιζω*, with the use of the disjunctive particle, are circumstances unfavourable to that figure of rhetoric.

30. The fourth verse is not only unconnected with the twenty-first, but relates to a totally different subject.

To the peculiarities of the Alexandrine dialect enumerated by our author, may be added the use of the termination *σαν* for *ον*, in the 3<sup>d</sup>. pl. of the 2<sup>d</sup>. aorist. For instance; Deut. i. 25. *ελαβουσαν* for *εκαβον*, Psal. lxi. 1. *εισηλθουσαν* for *εισηλθον*. In the same manner, 2 Thess. iii. 6. the Cod. Alexandrinus has *παριλαβουσαν*, and the Codex Claromontanus *ελαβουσαν* a *prima manu*, though *παριλαβον* ex emendatione. Griesbach, has taken *παριλαβουσαν* into the text of his edition. The preceding observation however is not to be understood as if the termination *σαν* were *wholly* confined to the dialect of Alexandria.

## S E C T. VIII.

## PAGE 149.

1. In this sense alone it is given in Kühn's Note to the passage in Julius Pollux, but the learned Greek writer himself is silent with respect to its meaning, though not in respect to its derivation. After having enumerated a list of adjectives and substantives, among which we find *αργος* and *αργια*, he adds a list of verbs which

cor-



correspond to them, among which we find ἀργεω and καταργεω. But as derivations have very frequently accessory ideas, we are not justified in concluding that Julius Pollux intended to confine καταργεω to the sense of the primitive. Stephanus quotes from Dioscorides φαρμακα καταργημενα medicamenta purgatoria.

2. This must be an oversight in our author, for though beside the Latin, there are two Greek indexes in Reitz's Lucian, yet the one relates only to the Scholia and the various readings, the other, which relates to the text, contains those words alone on which notes are written.

3. Our author has here quoted the page without mentioning the edition, a fault of which he is seldom guilty. I have consulted both the Benedictine and Thirlby's edition, but it is in neither p. 25. The passage however may be seen p. 45. of the Paris edition of 1615.

4. Those who would examine these twenty-six passages will find them enumerated in Schmidii Tameion, and William's Greek Concordance. See also Stephani Thesaur. Append. p. 1162.

## PAGE 150.

5. See Fischeri Prousiones de vitiis Lex. Nov. Test. Lipsiæ 1791, p. 331.

6. It is used in this sense by Plutarch. See Stephani Thesaurus, Tom. I. p. 86.

7. For that reason Wesseling conjectures that it is an erratum for προαγωγή. See his edition of Diodorus Siculus, Tom. II. p. 293. Note 90.

8. Yet Stephanus has produced examples from Plutarch, Polybius, Thucydides, and Lucian. It is likewise found in Julius Pollux, Lib. IX. sect. 142.

9. See Weistein's Note to Luke xviii. 1.

10. Jerom has taken this example from 1. Cor. iv. 3.

11. It is extraordinary that Jerom has καταναρχησας as quoted from St. Paul, whereas we find 2 Cor. xii. 13. καταναρχησα υμων. This verb is only used in the 2<sup>d</sup>. ep. to the Corinthians, there only three times, but

but in each case followed by a genitive. Wetstein, in his note to 2 Cor. xi. 8. has quoted the same passage from Jerom, but we there find in Jerom's text *κατε-  
ναρχησα υμων*. On what authority Wetstein wrote it in the genitive I know not, for in Martianay's edition, which is the best, we find *υμας*, as written by our author.

## PAGE 151.

12. Bravium was probably coined by Jerom to express *βραβειον*, for the Latin *v* corresponds to the Greek *β*, or to speak more properly, the Greek *β* has acquired that sound before the time of Jerom, it being probable that the most ancient Greeks pronounced it otherwise. The modern Greeks pronounce it constantly like the Latin *v*.

13. When the Romans said *dicere diem*, *obire diem*, they expressed indeed the day appointed for trial, but it does not appear that they ever used *dies* in the sense of *judicium*, which is the meaning expressed by St. Paul. It would be likewise difficult to find an example where the Hebrew word *יוֹם* is taken in that sense. The expression *ανθρωπινη ημερα* seems to have some analogy to *κυρια ημερα*, a judicial phrase in use at Athens. See Potter's Greek Antiquities, Vol. I. B. I. ch. xxi.

14. See Wetstein's Note to Col. ii. 18.

15. It is extraordinary that this word is written by our author, and in the Lexicons and Concordances to the Greek Testament, *καταναρχω* instead of *καταναρχω*. The two tenses used by St. Paul may be derived indeed from the one as well as from the other, but the simple verb is *ναρχω*, and *αποναρχωσι* is used by Plutarch, which puts the matter out of doubt. See Wetstein's Note to 2 Cor. xi. 8.

16. But this is inapplicable to *καταβραβευω* in St. Paul's epistles, for it occurs only once, viz. Col. ii. 18.

## PAGE 153.

17. Aratus, Callimachus, and Menander. See Pritii *Introductio in lectionem Novi Testamenti*, cap. xvii. p. 250. ed. Hoffmann. Lipsiæ 1764.

## PAGE 155.

18. Προσωπον της γης is a translation of פְּנֵי הָאָרֶץ, which is rendered in this manner in the Septuagint, Gen. xi. 4. and in many other places.

19. The Hebraism consists not in the word itself, but in its application to the Deity, in imitation of אֲדֹנִי, which is usually rendered in the Septuagint by κυριος.

20. Κρινειν εν δικαιοσυνη corresponds to שֹׁפֵט בְּצֶדֶק, which is rendered in this manner Psal. ix. 8. (ver. 9. in the Hebrew) and in many other places.

21. The singular use of ελεημοσυνη in this and other passages of the New Testament consists in its being applied to denote 'alms,' for in the classic authors it signifies misericordia in general, nor is it ever used in the Septuagint in the sense of 'contributions for the poor.' That the fathers have used it in this sense is of no importance at present, because they have taken it from the Greek Testament. The origin of this sense our author ascribes to the influence of the Hebrew, but what Hebrew word shall we adopt for this purpose? The Syriac translator has rendered ελεημοσυναι, in the passage in question, by ܐܕܝܢܐ, which corresponds to the Hebrew צֶדֶק. Now it is true that this word is rendered nine times in the Septuagint by ελεημοσυνη, but in not one of those instances does ελεημοσυνη signify 'alms.' This sense therefore, of which the first traces are visible in the Greek Testament, ought rather to be ascribed to the Syriac. It occurs fourteen times in the N. T. and is in every example rendered in the Syriac by ܐܕܝܢܐ; a close connexion therefore between the two words had been established by actual usage, and hence the sacred writers have ascribed to ελεημοσυνη a sense unknown to the classic authors, and to the Seventy, because this sense was sometimes applied to

to the word, which corresponds to it in their native language.

But this use of *ελεημοσυνη* is rather to be attributed to St. Luke than to St. Paul, for though it is taken from a speech that was made by the Apostle, it is probably the Greek translation of the sacred historian. The speech, which St. Paul had made at Jerusalem a few days before, is expressly said, Acts xxii. 2. to have been spoken in the dialect of the country, and as this was likewise made before the Jewish Sanhedrim, the Apostle undoubtedly delivered it in the same language. Nor has St. Paul used *ελεημοσυνη* in this or any other sense in any part of his writings: and that which St. Matthew and St. Luke understand by *ελεημοσυνας ποιειν*, he expresses by *φειλωνιαν ποιειν*. See Rom. xv. 26.

22. The most certain criterion for establishing a Hebraism in an unclassic phrase of the Greek Testament seems to be the following: 'That a similar phrase be found in the Septuagint, which is a literal translation of the Hebrew.' For though the native language of the sacred writers had immediate influence on their Greek style, yet the Hebrew, at that time a dead language, operated rather through the medium of the Greek version. Now the last example produced by our author, *φως καταγγελλειν*, is used in not a single instance in the whole Septuagint, though *φως* occurs above an hundred times. The Syriac translator of the New Testament has rendered it by *ܠܝܥܡܐ ܝܥܢܐ*, lucem prædicare; but whether this idiom is originally Syriac, or only a bald translation of the Greek, can be determined only by the discovery of a similar phrase in an original Syriac author: though even this discovery would be attended with no absolute certainty, since the Syriac, as well as the Greek fathers, have borrowed their modes of expression from the New Testament, and the works of no Syriac writer, who lived before the age of Christianity, are now extant.

The present example affords an opportunity of making a remark with respect to various phrases peculiar to the  
New

New Testament, which seem as much entitled to a separate class, as those which are referred to that of Hebraisms and Syriasms. After all the learning, which has been employed in arranging the remarkable phrases of the Greek Testament under their respective heads, there remains a great number, of which no trace is to be found either in a classic or an Oriental writer, unless we convert the shadow of similarity into substance. Nor can this afford just matter of surprise, for as every expression, in whatever language it be used, must have had a beginning, it is not unreasonable to ascribe the origin of many to the New Testament itself. A new religion of course produces new ideas, and new ideas are unavoidably followed by new modes of expression, which it is useless to seek in the writings of authors, who were strangers to the ideas themselves.

## PAGE 157.

23. This scene is represented by Dr. Harwood in a very lively and elegant manner, in his Introduction to the New Testament, Vol. I. p. 200.

## PAGE 158.

24. Ernesti Institutio Interpretis Novi Testamenti, ed. tertia, Lipsiæ 1775. As our author quotes from this work (which is held in high esteem in Germany, though he is himself unfavourable to that celebrated critic) without mentioning either chapter or page, it is difficult to discover to what part he alludes. It is natural to seek this observation of Ernesti in the chapter relating to the language of the New Testament, p. 40—57. but though he prefers the Greek purity in Philo and Josephus to the Hebrew-Greek of St. Paul, considered merely as language, no mention is made of the Apostle's inability to comprehend the writings of either.

## S E C T. IX.

## PAGE 159.

1. **خنجر**, pugio. See Castelli et Golii *Lexicon Persicum*, p. 244. Meninsky *Lexicon Pers. Arab. Turc.* Tom. I. p. 1950. of the ed. of 1680, or Richardson's *Persian and Arabic Dictionary*, Vol. I. p. 803. Hesychius observes that *αγγαρος* is a Persian word. See Alberti's Note, Vol. I. p. 37. of his edition of Hesychius.

2. Stephanus has produced examples from the Greek classics, in which *αγγαρευν*, *γαζα*, and *μαγος* are used; but of *μεγιστης* he says, *apud classicos scriptores nomen hoc me legere non memini*: yet it is used very frequently in the Septuagint and Apocrypha, and was adopted even by the Romans, as appears from Wetstein's Note, to which our author refers.

## PAGE 160.

3. Our author here compares with Matth. vi. 7. a passage not in a Persian, but in a Turkish ode, taken from Jones's *Commentarii Poeseos Asiaticæ*, p. 157. He probably means Matth. vi. 3. for the passage which he produces from the Turkish ode is, 'Let not the left ear hear the sound of the gold and silver drops which fall from the source of the right hand.'

4. *Sciunt viri docti vivere in Persia et India ingentem hominum cœtum, et late fusum, qui se ipsi Mendai Ijahi, discipulos Johannis, nominant, vulgo vero Christiani S. Johannis ab Europæis vocantur, quia levi quadam et exigua Christi cognitione tincti sunt; ab Orientalibus Sabbi vel Sabiim.*

5. Mosheim de rebus Christian. ante Constantium M. p. 43. More information may be had on this subject in the 3<sup>d</sup>. and 4<sup>th</sup>. volumes of the *Commentationes societ. reg. scient. Goettingensis*.

5. The opinion, that St. John wrote against the Gnostics, has been called in question by Tittmann, in his treatise

treatise *De vestigiis Gnosticorum in Novo Testamento frustra quæsitis*, Lipsiæ 1773. But the further consideration of this subject must be deferred to the particular Introduction to St. John's Gospel.

## PAGE 161.

6. *Zend-Avesta, ouvrage de Zoroastre traduit en François sur l'original Zend avec des remarques par M. Anquetil du Perron*, 3 tomes, 4<sup>to</sup>. Paris 1771. Sir William Jones, the celebrated Orientalist, immediately discovered that the work was spurious, and by no means to be attributed to Zoroaster, in consequence of which he published in the same year, *Lettre à M. A—— du P—— dans laquelle est compris l'Examen de sa traduction des livres attribués à Zoroastre*. In Germany this version of Anquetil has met with more success, for it has not only been translated into German, but applied to the purposes of explaining the New Testament. Commentaries and paraphrases have appeared, in which the pretended philosophy of Zoroaster has been considered as a mean of explaining the writings of those who first propagated the Christian religion. But as a passion for critical and philosophical discovery has distinguished the present age, instead of being surprised at the application, we have rather reason to wonder that no one has explored for the same purpose, either the treasures of the Vedam, or the mysteries of the Chouking.

7. The remarks therefore which might be made on this subject in general, must be deferred to the same place.

## PAGE 162.

8. The dissertations of Professor Meiners, relating to the *Zend-Avesta*, are printed in the 8<sup>th</sup> vol. of the *Novi Commentarii Soc. Reg. Gottingensis*, and in the 1<sup>st</sup>. and 3<sup>d</sup>. vol. of the *Commentationes*. It is well known, that Mr. Richardson is of the same opinion with Professor Meiners.



## S E C T. X.

## PAGE 162.

1. It was spoken and printed at Leipzig in 1726, and reprinted in Georgii Hierocriticon.

## PAGE 163.

2. But the word λεγεων, in the New Testament, denotes no part either of a Greek or a Roman army, and signifies only a great, though indeterminate number in general, as in Matt. xxvi. 53. It does not appear then, that a word of Grecian origin would have been less proper than λεγεων, especially as this Latin word is used in the Greek Testament in a sense unknown to a Latin author. On the use of λεγεων, Mark v. 9. 15. Luke viii. 30. see Buxtorf Lex. Talm. p. 1123. f. v. קצ"ל, where it appears, that this word was adopted by the Rabbins, and used by them, to signify one person, who had many under his command. This sense is well adapted to λεγεων, as used Mark v. 9. 15. Luke viii. 30.

3. When our author says that μακελλον is found in no Greek author, he expresses himself inaccurately, because it occurs in Plutarch. See Kypke Observ. sacræ, Tom. II. p. 219. But as Plutarch thought it necessary to explain it by κρωπωλιον, it is probable that the word was of Latin origin.

## PAGE 164.

4. The word used in the Syriac version is ܩܘܥܬܝܢܐ, which is evidently formed from the Latin word quæstionarius, and has little resemblance to custodia. It seems probable, therefore, that it was originally written in this manner, and that its similarity to quæstionarius is not owing to the error of a transcriber. Though the Latin word signifies properly an executioner, yet when adopted in the Syriac, it was used, perhaps, to denote officers of justice in general.

5. As

5. As St. Luke was not a civilian, but a physician, and St. Paul had been educated, not in the forum, but at the feet of Gamaliel, it may seem unreasonable to expect in their writings the technical terms of the Roman law. But as these had influence on the language of common life, and both St. Luke and St. Paul were frequently in circumstances, that required the mention of juridical expressions, it is not extraordinary that they sometimes occur. Whether all the phrases which our author has produced, are to be ascribed to this cause, is at least a matter of doubt: the similarity of *remittere ad alium judicem* to *αντιπεμψα υμας προς αυτον*, Luke xxiii. 15. is owing, perhaps, rather to accident than design, and that *δοκιμαζω* is applied by St. Luke to the same subject, as Cicero has applied *probo*, affords no more an argument for a Latinism in the former, than a Grecism in the latter, because the two words have a literal correspondence. With respect to *υποτιθειναι τον τραχηλον*, if it be explained as a Latinism, our author's translation of it is inadmissible, for *dare jugulum* signifies to expose one's life, and not one's fortune to danger. See Cicero's *Oratio pro Milone*, Cap. xi. Tom. II. P. II. p. 1357. ed. Ernesti. Our author, in support of his new translation, appeals to the oration pro Quintio, in which he says *jugulum* is very frequently used in the sense which he here ascribes to it: yet I have read the whole oration without discovering *jugulum* in a single instance, which would be hardly possible, if it occurred so frequently as he relates.

6. For instance *λεντιον*, John xiii. 4, 5. *σδαριον*, John xi. 44. *δηναρion*, Luke vii. 41. *σπεκλατωρ*, Mark vi. 27. *μεμβρανα*, 2 Tim. iv. 13. *ταβερνη*, Acts xxviii. 15. *μιλιον*, Matth. v. 41. *κοδραντης*, Matth. v. 26. *ασσαριον*, Matth. x. 29.

PAGE 165.

7. The erroneous quotations (whether they are mistakes of the writer or of the printer I will not determine) in the preceding part of this work I have carefully corrected,

rected, except in one or two instances which I have noted. I have likewise here corrected a wrong quotation from Josephus, but I am unable to rectify all those that are here taken from Philo. Of the ten references to that author, not less than seven are inaccurate. For the first and fifth examples in Note (y) belong properly to Note (z), and the sixth is totally false. In Note (z), which relates to the use of ελεγχος, and το συνειδότες ελεγχος in the sense of conscience, is no example which shews the use of the latter; in the two first examples of this Note ελεγχος is used, but they prove the contrary of our author's explanation, because ελεγχος is used as a predicate of το συνειδως, and therefore cannot itself signify conscience: the third example is totally false. In Note (a) the reference is likewise erroneous, for οὐκ is not once used in the whole page. It is to be observed that our author, in quoting from the works of Philo, understands the edition of Mangey, which he has noted on a former occasion.

8. But if συνειδησις is used not only in the book of Wisdom, but likewise in the Greek version of Ecclesiastes, it was introduced long before the Latin language could have had the least influence on the Greek. That it is used only in a single example is of no importance, for this alone is sufficient to destroy the whole hypothesis. It is even a matter of doubt whether the particular sense of συνειδησις, as expressive of conscience, is to be ascribed to the Latin, for as it is used in that manner in the book of Wisdom, which was probably written before Egypt had been reduced to a Roman province, it is more natural to seek its origin in the idiom of Alexandria, than in the idiom of Rome. Besides, conscientia in the Latin classics, like το συνειδως in the Greek, denoted rather the consciousness of a good or evil action, whereas συνειδησις, in the New Testament, which alone is the object of our present inquiry, denotes the principle of perception, as well as the perception itself. The Romans said in general, conscientia scelerum, conscientia animi, whereas

St.

St. Paul has not only συνειδησις αμαρτιων, but μαρτυριον της συνειδησεως.

9. Tom. I. p. 309. ed Wesseling.

10. The passage from Polybius is quoted by Raphel, in his Annotationes Philologicæ ex Arriano et Polybio, p. 153.

11. The passage from Appian is quoted by Kypke, in his Obs. sacræ, Tom. I. 197. He has likewise produced a passage from Arrian, where the phrase is used passively, ικανον ποισμεθα, which cannot be a Latinism, because the Latin language admits not that turn of expression. But there is a passage in the Septuagint hitherto overlooked, which puts the matter out of doubt, since no one will ascribe the phrases of the Alexandrine version to the influence of the Latin; εχι το ικανον αυτω εχ' εως ποιησειν; Jeremiah xlviii. 30.

## PAGE 166.

12. The answer as given in the original language is no where on record, and the only mean of forming a probable conjecture is the Syriac version, but here we find a totally different expression ܐܠ ܕܥܡܐ ܐܠ.

## S E C T. XI.

## PAGE 167.

1. That εἰσodia, 1 Cor. xi. 10. signifies a veil is admitted by most critics, but they are not unanimous in the mode of accounting for it. Hardy says, 'Velamen est signum imperii quod in uxorem habet maritus,' which is the interpretation of the Greek fathers. But if the emblem of power was worn by the woman, it is rather a token of subjection on the part of the man, and if εἰσodia relates to the authority of the man, it is very improperly applied to the dress of the woman: on the other hand, if a veil is a token of submission, the use of εἰσodia in that sense involves a contradiction. Vorstius explains it as a Hebraism, and has recourse to דָּוָר, but as this word admits not the sense of potestas, and εἰσodia is never used

in the sense of **וְלִי**, the two words are wholly unconnected. In Schoettgen's Lexicon, appeal is made **וְלִי** **וְלִי**, *potestas capitis mei*, Ps. lx. 9. but here the notion of a veil is wanting, the expression is used as proceeding from the Deity, is rendered in the LXX *κατασκευὴς τῆς κεφαλῆς μου* and there is no reference whatsoever to a covering for the head. Nothing is more easy than the invention of an Hebraism, provided we can satisfy ourselves with the shadow instead of the substance: but unless plain reason be banished from philological inquiries, no man can be satisfied with the principle of an Hebraism on the present occasion till an Hebrew word be produced which denotes both *potestas*, and *velum*. The foregoing explanations therefore are very properly rejected by our author, but the solution which he has given is attended with no inconsiderable difficulty. The passage in question relates not to the fashions of the Corinthian ladies, but to the doctrines of the Rabbins, and the two examples produced by our author by way of illustration (which I have reserved for these notes) that the word *Consideration* has been used in some provinces of Germany to denote a petticoat, and that a pair of *Excellencies* signified formerly at Hanover a pair of gouty shoes, because worn frequently by gentlemen who had that title, must naturally excite a smile. A cant expression of this nature is unsuitable to the gravity of St. Paul's epistles, and as the Apostle has used *ἐξουσία* in not less than ten examples in the same epistle, an extraordinary use of it in this instance alone must unavoidably have perplexed the Corinthians themselves. The passage may be most easily explained if we take *ἐξουσία* in the sense of *præsidium*, a notion very nearly allied to that of *potestas* and *imperium*. It is true, that no instance has been produced from a classic author, in which *ἐξουσία* has this meaning: but *ἐξουσία* and *ἐξουσίαζω* are frequently used in the Greek version of the book of Daniel for some derivative of the Chaldee verb **שָׁלַח**, or for the verb itself. Now the substantive **שָׁלַח** signifies an instrument of protection, or a shield. Buxtorfii Lex. Chald. Rabb. p. 1416.

On

On this principle the words in question *δια τούτο οφείλει ἡ γυνὴ ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς*, would be translated ‘for this reason the woman ought to have a protection on her head.’ This protection was her veil. Should this explanation be thought unsatisfactory, more information may be had in *Wolfii Curæ Philologicæ et Criticæ, in quatuor priores S. Pauli epistolas*, p. 474—478. ed. 2<sup>a</sup>.

## PAGE 168.

2. In his *Observationes Philologico-criticæ*, p. 368.

3. If *καθως* is the correction of a transcriber, the correction must have been made in a very early age, for this reading is expressed in the Syriac version. Likewise in the three capital manuscripts Cod. Alexandrinus, Cyprius, and Regius 2243, instead of the common reading *ΚΑΙΠΩ* (as written in the ancient MSS. without intervals) we find *ΚΑΘΩ*. Now the latter seems to have been the original reading for the following reasons. 1. Though *πως* occurs fourteen times in St. Mark's Gospel, he has nowhere used it as equivalent to *καθως*. 2. According to the common reading the conj. *και* forms a new clause, in which is an oblique construction without any principal verb, an imperfection which must be felt by the very worst writer. 3. If the upper and lower strokes of the *Θ* were effaced in an ancient MS. from which copies were taken, transcribers, who were not always the best scholars, might easily imagine that the left hand stroke was an *I*, and that on the right hand with the dot in the middle the remnant of a *II*, whereas *III* could not be so easily mistaken for *Θ*.

4. In his *Obs. Sacræ*, Tom. I. p. 174.

## PAGE 169.

5. This passage from Thomas Magister is quoted in Wetstein's Note to Rom. ix. 4. where *διαθήκαι* is explained as the Covenant made with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. But notwithstanding the authority of two such eminent critics as Wetstein, and Michaelis, we may venture to doubt, whether St. Paul understood *αι διαθηκαι* as

an Atticism in the sense of the singular, for the following reasons. 1. St. Paul has used in not less than twenty-six examples, where he intends to express a single covenant, *διαθηκη* in the singular. 2. In all his epistles *διαθηκαι* in the plural occurs in only two instances, Rom. ix. 4. which is the passage in question, and Gal. iv. 24. In the latter instance we find *αι δυο διαθηκαι*, the two covenants; he makes therefore an evident distinction between the singular and the plural, for the use of *δυο* wholly excludes an Atticism. Is it not then reasonable to suppose that in the remaining example, Rom. ix. 4. he intended to express the New as well as the Old Covenant? 3. Independent of the foregoing circumstances the context itself pleads for a plural sense, for immediately after *αι διαθηκαι*, St. Paul adds *η νομοθεσια, και η λαλρηια, και αι επαγγελιαι*, where *νομοθεσια* and *λαλρηια* refer to the Old Covenant, *επαγγελιαι* to the New, it being the design of the Apostle to convince the Jews that they were not only partakers of the former, but heirs of the latter.

## PAGE 170.

6. ‘*Per θρεμματα hoc loco familiam seu domesticos Jacobi intelligo. Haud rara est hac notione vox θρεμμα profanis; quæ, quum a τρεφω descendat, alumnos proprie notat.*’ He then produces examples from Libanius and the Arundel marbles.

See Kypke Obs. sacræ, Tom. I. p. 361.

The word ‘cattle,’ used in the English version is still retained in the late translation of Dr. Campbell, and is accompanied with no remark: a circumstance which shews that foreign literature is less noticed in England than it deserves.

7. See Pococke’s *Inscriptiones antiquæ*, p. 24.

## PAGE 171.

8. See also Pococke’s *Inscriptiones antiquæ*, p. 54.

9. If *βασιλικος* were a proper name, St. John would rather have written *τις ονοματι βασιλικος*. See Luke i. 5. Acts v. i. xxviii. 24. and other examples, where *τις* when placed before a proper name is followed by *ονοματι*.



## PAGE 172.

10. Neither Wetstein nor Griesbach have quoted a various reading to this passage, either from a MS. or a version in which Nazarenus is used in the vocative. Now whether these eminent critics have been guilty of neglect, or whether the adjective agrees with *Ἰησους* in the Syriac, as well as in the Greek, can be determined only by examining the passage itself. The words of the Syriac version are ܐܢܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܕܢܙܪܝܢܐ, which Schaaf has rendered 'et tu quoque cum Jesu eras Nazareno,' which seems to be a very accurate translation, for had the author of the Syriac version intended to express *Ναζαρην*, he would have used ܐܢܬܐ ܕܢܙܪܝܢܐ not ܐܢܬܐ alone.

11. Our author here produces a passage from a German book, written by S. Schultz, and entitled, 'Guidance of God, in a Course of Travels through Europe, Asia, and Africa.' The writer of this work, who visited Nazareth in 1754, relates that *Endu Nufrani*, that is, *thou art a Nazarene*, is at present a common term of reproach. But we must not forget that Nazarene is the universal appellation of the Christians of the East, who are so called from the place where the founder of our religion resided. See Acts xxiv. 5. Epiphanius Hæres. 29. c. 6. and Hottinger's Hist. Orientalis, p. 332. It seems then, according to its general use, to be a term of contempt, because the Mohammedans consider the Christians as a set of Beings inferior to themselves, and it expresses nearly the same disrespect as the word Pagan in the mouth of a Christian at the time of the Crusades.

## PAGE 173.

12. By most commentators, and in most translations, among which the Syriac may be reckoned, is understood not *εἰμι*, eo, but *εἰμι*, sum. In the Vulgate, as well as in our common English version, it is literally rendered by the present tense, but Beza has translated it by the future, and in this he is followed by Dr. Campbell. Wetstein has quoted the Cod. Cant. for *εἰμι*, eo; but this

this sense can depend only on the authority of the Latin translation, this MS. being written without accents. Griesbach prefers the sense of eo, and quotes for that purpose the Æthiopic and Armenian versions, Nonnus, Theophrast, and three celebrated Latin MSS.

## S E C T. XII.

PAGE 173.

1. Our author here introduces a rule from a Greek Grammar, written in German, and called die Märkische Grammatik, which I have been obliged to omit, because the rule is illustrated by several German particles, and in a translation would not be so intelligible, as in the original. But it amounts to nothing more than this, that the genitive is the usual case absolute in Greek, but that in the Attic dialect the nominative was sometimes used absolute. Now it cannot be denied that a nominative absolute sometimes occurs in the Attic writers, especially the poets, of which the following is an example, taken from the Antigone, l. 266.

Λογοὶ δ' ἐν ἀλλήλοισιν ἐρροῦνται κακοί,  
Φυλαξ ἐλιγχῶν φυλακα.

But even if the nominative were as frequently used absolute as the genitive, it would be of no use in explaining those passages of the Septuagint to which our author refers, because their construction is totally different from that, which is generally understood by a case absolute, as will appear from the following note.

2. If the passages here produced from the Septuagint are to be explained on the principle of an Attic nominative absolute, we have a list of Atticisms, in many of which the construction is so extraordinary, that an Athenian might perhaps have found it difficult to comprehend them. Besides, a case absolute necessarily implies a noun or a pronoun which agrees with the participle ;  
but

but in all these examples we find the participle alone, which (if we except Gen. xvi. 5. where we find *ιδουσα*, that evidently refers to *ητιμασθη*) is invariably *λεγων* or *λεγοντες*. It is nothing more than a translation of the Hebrew Gerund *לאמר*, which the Seventy have rendered, even barbarously in many cases, by the participle. For instance, Gen. xv. 1. *היה דבר יהוה אל אברם במחזה לאמר אל תירא* is translated *εγεννηθη ρημα κυριος προς Αβραμ εν οραματι. λεγων μη φοβου..* Again *הדברים האלה ויגד לאברהם לאמר הגה ילדה מלכה* is rendered in the Septuagint *εγενετο δε μετα τα ρηματα ταυτα, και ανηγγελη τω Αβρααμ, λεγοντες ιδου τετοκε Μελχα*. The use therefore of *λεγων* and *λεγοντες* in these examples is to be ascribed rather to the influence of the Hebrew, than to the polished dialect of Athens; it is a Judaism not an Atticism, not Attic but Jewish Greek.

3. To judge of this example, it is necessary to examine not only the words in question, but those with which they are connected. Rom. ix. 9. 10. *Εσαι τη Σαρρα υιος· & μονον δε, αλλα και Ρεβεκκα εξ ενος κοιτην εχουσα*. Now it cannot be denied that the construction is obscure; but it seems more reasonable to suppose that *εσαι* is understood after *εχουσα*, as it immediately precedes in the same sentence, though it is separated by the modern division into verses, than to have recourse to a case absolute: for on this principle we have a clause commencing with *αλλα και*, and containing no verb either expressed or understood, which unavoidably leaves the sense imperfect.

## PAGE 174.

4. Mark xv. 36. *Δραμων δε εις και γεμισας σπογγον οξυς περιθεις τε καλαμω εποτιζεν αυτον, λεγων, αφετε ιδωμεν ει ερχεται Ηλιας καθελιν αυτον*. Here *λεγων* evidently agrees with *εις*, and to explain it as a nom. abs. is to do a double violence to the sentence, 1. to tear it from the noun with which it is connected, 2. to understand the pronoun *τις*. The apparent contradiction between the two Evangelists, which our author has mentioned, may be removed in a  
much

much easier manner, by taking ἀφίημι in the sense of permitto, instead of the usual translation omitto.

5. See Fischeri Prolusiones de vitiis Lexicor. N. T. p. 250. Lipsiæ 1791.

## S E C T. XIII.

### PAGE 176.

1. Raphael in his Annotat. philolog. in N. T. ex. Polybio et Arriano, p. 360—375. has given a great number of examples in which πεισις is used in the sense of Proof, or Ground of Belief, but neither Stephanus, Raphael, Weistein, nor Kypke, have produced an instance from a classic author, where the abstract πεισις is used for the concrete το πεπιστευμενον. If our author has discovered an example, it would have been a satisfaction to his readers if he had mentioned it, especially as this sense is well suited to the passage.

### PAGE 177.

2. Yet our author, in the place to which he refers, says himself, p. 13. that the examples must be reserved for his public lectures. It is true that he explains, p. 20—23. the meaning of σκανδαλιζισθαι, συνειδησις, and λαιδωρειω, but for the last example alone he refers to the Septuagint, viz. Exod. xvii. 2. 7. Num. xx. 3. 13. Deut. xxxiii. 8. There is an excellent chapter on this subject in Ernesti Inst. Interpr. Nov. Test, p. 160—173. 3<sup>d</sup>.ed.

3. Our author here observes that φωτιζω is frequently used in the Septuagint for הִרְיָה, high. a הִרְיָה, which in that conj. signifies docuit. The examples may be seen in Biel and Trommius.

4. In our author's Note to Heb. xi. 5. is given the following reason why ευηρεσηκεναι Θεω is improperly rendered in the common translation, viz. that Gen. v. 24. וַיִּתְהַלֵּךְ חֵנוֹךְ אֶת הָאֱלֹהִים et ambulavit Henoch cum Deo is rendered in the LXX και ευηρεσησεν Ενωχ τω Θεω, on which he observes that the notion of walking with  
God

God is more nearly connected with that of serving, than that of pleasing God.

5. As the plural **תהלות** is not used in the passage of Isaiah to which our author refers, nor in the two other instances produced by Biel, viz. Is. xlii. 8. 12. a more convenient example may be taken from Is. xliii. 7. where we find **תהלות יהוה** in the Hebrew, and *αρεται Κυριε* in the Septuagint. This remark is made on the supposition that the pl. number occasions the difficulty, for *αρετη* in the sing. was used in the sense of honour or glory as long ago as the days of Homer.

*Ζεὺς δ' ἀρετὴν ἀνδρεσσὶν οφείλλει τε μινυθεῖ τε.*

*Iliad. xx. 242.*

PAGE 178.

6. The Concordance of Trommius was published in 1718, the Codex Chigianus in 1772.

7. I have likewise found many inaccuracies in the references to the quoted texts, an imperfection which cannot with any justice be laid to the charge of the learned and industrious compiler, since in a work consisting of two folio volumes, every page of which contains nearly four hundred figures, errata were unavoidable. But it should serve as a caution to all authors, not to depend on this or any other concordance, without referring to the passages themselves; and I could produce examples where this neglect has occasioned mistakes, not only in this Introduction, but in Biel's *Lexicon ad LXX Interpretes*. To mention one only in particular, Num. iv. 21. is quoted in Trommius for *ἐξαπιν*, it ought to be Num. iv. 20. but this erratum has been copied by Biel, Tom. I. p. 554. and by our author, Vol. I. p. 154. 4<sup>th</sup>. ed. of his Introduction.

8. To Biel's *Lexicon in LXX Interpretes*, which was published at the Hague in 1779 and 1780, in 3 vols. 8<sup>vo</sup>. may be added *Lexici in interpretes Græcos V. T. maxime scriptores apocryphos Spicilegium, post Bielium congeffit et edidit J. F. Schleusner, Lipsiæ 1784, 8<sup>vo</sup>. Specimen II. ib. 1786.*

9. Our

9. Our author recommends in this part of his *Programm* a diligent study of Ecclesiastes, and the book of Wisdom; not only as they are excellent systems of morality, but with a view of determining more precisely, whether allusions are made to them in the New Testament, in the same manner as to the Proverbs.

10. Our author's commentary on the first book of the Maccabees, entitled *Uebersetzung des ersten Buchs der Maccabäer*, was published in 1778, ten years before the present edition of his *Introduction* appeared. The passage has remained unaltered, as it stood in the third edition: at that time he was unable to determine the pages, where examples of this nature would be given, and as he has not done it in this last edition, I am unable to quote them in these notes.

## PAGE 179.

11. This is a refinement which seems to have no foundation, since a request from an Apostle is equivalent to a command. It implies also that *προσέτα* has a particular meaning in this passage, which our author endeavours to establish in the following section; but it will appear from the remark on his explanation, that it is supported by no authority.

12. In his *Obs. sacræ*, Tom. II. p. 161.

## S E C T. XIV.

## PAGE 182.

1. The best treatise on the Hebraisms of the New Testament is *Johannis Vorstii de Hebraïsmis Novi Test. Commentarius*, ed. Fischer, Lipsiæ 1778. The learned editor is likewise preparing a supplement to this work, the first and second specimens of which have been lately published under the title of *Supplementorum Commentarii J. Vorstii specimen primum*, ab J. F. Fischero, Lipsiæ 1791. *Specimen secundum ib.* Fischer's edition of "*Leusdenii de dialectis N. T. singulatim de ejus*

*ejus Hebraïsmis, libellus singularis,* published at Leipzig in 1792, is likewise a valuable work.

2. In our author's edition of this celebrated work, which has been twice printed at Göttingen. His preface and notes were again published by Bishop Lowth himself, under the following title: *J. D. Michaelis in Roberti Lowth prælectiones de Sacra Poesi Hebræorum Notæ et Epimetra*, Oxon. 1763.

3. *Lightfooti Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ*, 4<sup>to</sup>. which, beside the original edition, has been twice printed at Leipzig in 1679 and 1684. This work includes only the four Gospels.

*Christiani Schoettgenii Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ in univ. N. T.* 4<sup>to</sup>. Tom. I. Dresdæ 1733. Tom. II. ib. 1742.

To these may be added *Novum Testamentum ex Talmude et antiquitatibus Ebræorum illustratum*, ed. Meuschen, Lipsiæ 1736, 4<sup>to</sup>.

4. The Mishnah has been translated into German by Rabe, and published at Onolzbach in 1760—1763, in 6 vols. 4<sup>to</sup>. He likewise began the translation of the Gemara. This work is highly esteemed, and said to be much more accurate than the Latin translation of Surenhusius, published at Amsterdam 1698—1713, in six parts or volumes, folio.

## PAGE 183.

5. Yet of all the Oriental languages, the Syriac seems to be the most necessary for an interpreter of the New Testament, as being the native language of the sacred writers.

## PAGE 184.

6. *Annotationes philologicæ in N. T. ex Xenophonte collectæ* a Georgio Raphelio, Hamburgi 1709, 8<sup>vo</sup>. ed. 2<sup>da</sup>. ib. 1720. *Annotationes philologicæ ex Polybio et Arriano* a G. Raphelio, Hamburgi 1715, 8<sup>vo</sup>. *Annotationes in sacram scripturam, historicæ in Vetus, philologicæ in Novum Testamentum ex Herodoto collectæ* a G.



a G. Raphelio, 8<sup>vo</sup>. Lüneburgi 1731. A complete edition of all Raphel's annotations was published at Leyden in 1747, in two vols. 8<sup>vo</sup>.

7. Jacobi Elsneri Obs. sacræ in Novi Fœderis libros, Tom. I. Traject. ad Rhen. 1720, Tom. 2<sup>us</sup>. ib. 1728, 8<sup>vo</sup>.

J. Alberti Obs. phil. in sacros Novi Fœderis libros, Lugduni Bat. 1725, 8<sup>vo</sup>.

8. Published at Breslau in 1775, in 2 vols. 8<sup>vo</sup>.

PAGE 185.

9. Benedicti Carpzovii exercitationes in Pauli epistolam ad Hebræos, ex Philone Alexandrino, Helmstad. 1750, 8<sup>vo</sup>.

Benedicti Carpzovii stricturæ in epistolam Pauli ad Romanos, aspersi subinde sunt flores ex Philone Alexandrino, Helmstad. 1758, ed. 2<sup>a</sup>. 8<sup>vo</sup>.

Jo. Tobiaë Krebsii Obs. in Nov. Test. e Fl. Josepho, Lipsiæ 1755, 8<sup>vo</sup>.

PAGE 186.

10. To the writers mentioned by our author, who have attempted to illustrate the N. T. by means of the classic authors, may be added the following :

Loesneri Observ. ad Nov. Test. e Philone Alexandrino, 8vo. Lipsiæ 1777.

Kühnii Spicilegium Loesneri Observ. in Nov. Test. e Philone, 8<sup>vo</sup>. Lipsiæ 1785.

Luxdorfiana e Platone. Particula prima, Hafniæ 1790. But this publication from the papers of the late learned Luxdorf is rather philosophical than philological.

Mr. Wakefield likewise, in the second volume of his *Silva critica*, published at Cambridge in 1790, has explained with great learning and ingenuity many difficult passages in the Gospels, and the Acts, from the classic authors. The third volume has been lately published in 1792, and contains philological remarks on the epistles of St. Paul.

Many other authors might be mentioned, who have illustrated the language of the New Testament: but it is unnecessary, as Schleusner's Lexicon contains every thing which is valuable in them.

## PAGE 187.

11. All the pains which I have taken to render this sentence intelligible have been fruitless, and it is probable that the translation will appear as extraordinary to the reader, as the original to the translator. The purport of it is to assign a reason why passages in the N. T. may be often explained from the classic authors; but if it conveys any reason, it seems rather to prove the contrary.

12. To do justice to Ernesti it is necessary to quote his own words, especially as they are more intelligible than our author's statement. Christum, ut hoc utar, esse victimam pro peccatis nostris verissimum est: sed non propterea in isto Pauli *ον προειδω λαστηριον* *victima* Christus dicitur. Nisi rationibus grammaticis id vincas, hoc est, nisi doceas non modo *λαστηριον* consuetudinem loquendi, non quamcunque, sed Hebraizantium de *victima* expiatoria dixisse, sed etiam verbum *προειδω* dici de victimis, nihil illud, quamvis verum, effecerit.

13. Kypke, in his Obs. sacræ, Tom. I. p. 161. has produced the following passage from the Iphigenia in Aulis, v. 1592.

Ορατε τηνδε θυσιαν ην η θεος  
Πρεθηκε βωμιαν ελαφον ορειδρομον.

14. This is in fact Ernesti's only demand with respect to *λαστηριον*, for he says non quamcunque sed Hebraizantium. That this demand is so unreasonable as our author describes, is by no means evident, since the Greek version is the place, to which we may naturally have recourse for the meaning of a term, that is applied to an object peculiar to the Jewish nation. It does not appear that *λαστηριον* was ever used by an antient Greek, but according to its termination, its literal and proper

meaning must be 'a place of propitiation,' in the same manner as *δικαστήριον* signifies a place where justice is administered, and *κοιμητήριον* a place of repose. It may be most properly applied therefore to signify an altar, on which sacrifices were made, as this is literally a place of propitiation, and in this sense it is used Ezek. xliii. 15. where it is synonymous to *θυσιαστήριον*: but in the Pentateuch it denotes the lid of the ark of the covenant. The former application is accurate; but as the lid of the ark of the covenant is wholly unconnected with atonement, neither the lid nor the ark being used in sacrifices, though it was itself consecrated by the sprinkling of blood; the latter application seems to be the effect of a Jewish gloss, and to have no foundation in the Hebrew. The first instance in which it occurs is Exod. xxv. 17. where the original is simply *עֲשֵׂית כַּפֶּרֶת זָהָב טָהוֹר*, facies operculum ex auro puro, *ποίησεις επιθήμα χρυσεῖα καθάρ.* But the Seventy, (unless *λαστήριον* is a *later* interpolation, which is not improbable) not satisfied with this literal translation, interpolated a word, that is not warranted by the original\* and wrote *ποίησεις λαστήριον επιθήμα χρυσεῖα καθάρ.* In the Vulgate *λαστήριον* is translated, but *επιθήμα*, and of course *כַּפֶּרֶת* is unnoticed, in consequence of which error the passage has acquired a mystical meaning, which probably never occurred to Moses. The modern translations, which are much more frequently copies of the Latin than of the Hebrew, have likewise *λαστήριον*, but no *επιθήμα*, and hence a simple plate of gold has been converted into a mercy-seat. The Seventy having once inserted *λαστήριον* as synonymous to, or rather as a mystical explanation of *επιθήμα* and *כַּפֶּרֶת*, have in the following examples of the Pentateuch translated *כַּפֶּרֶת*, which signifies

\* *כַּפֶּר* signifies literally 'to cover,' *כַּפֶּרֶת* 'a covering,' or 'lid.' Now, though *כַּפֶּר* is sometimes used in a figurative sense, signifying 'to cover' sins, that is, to do away sins, or make atonement; yet this figurative sense cannot be applied to *כַּפֶּרֶת*, as used for the lid of the ark, because it was a covering for that, which neither wanted, nor was capable of atonement.

signifies simply a lid, by *ιασθηριον* alone, of which the unavoidable consequence was that *ιασθηριον*, in Jewish Greek, acquired a sense that is by no means analogous to its derivation. In the Greek Testament it occurs only twice, Rom. iii. 25. which is the passage in question, and Heb. ix. 5. In the latter instance it signifies simply *operculum arcæ*, as appears from the words *υπερανω δε αυτης χειρῶν*. To the former instance the literal translation of *operculum arcæ* is certainly inapplicable; but the question is, whether St. Paul, in the figurative application of *ιασθηριον*, had not in view the notion which is expressed by it in the Septuagint. The Greek version, to which the word seems almost peculiar, was an object of his daily study, and from this version, not only the Greek fathers, but Josephus himself, must have borrowed the expression; for had he written pure and classic Greek, in the passage which is quoted by our author, he would have used not, *ιασθηριον*, but *ιασμος*. Now the point to be examined, is not whether *ιασθηριον* may admit the sense of *vicima*, but whether St. Paul did not allude to an object, to which alone the word is applied in the Pentateuch, whence he had borrowed the term, and to which he himself applies it in the other example. Ernesti has an excellent observation on this subject, which deserves to be transcribed. *Ex quibus efficitur, ut veritas sensus nullo modo intelligatur necessario, ac definiatur veritate rei: præsertim cum rerum veritati consentanearum infinitus sit numerus, et si a veritate rei concludere liceret ad veritatem sensus, quævis verba quemvis sensum habere possent: quod esset plus quam scepticum.* Through want of attention to this very just rule, the Apostles and Evangelists have on other occasions, but not on the present, been made to argue like modern philosophers.

## PAGE 188.

15. Our author has here altered the text of Symmachus from *ιασθηριον* to *ιασεις ιασθηριον*. It is well known that the whole version of Symmachus is no longer extant,

and that the only remnants of it are those detached readings, which are preserved in Origen's Hexapla. Now the translations of כִּפַּרְתָּ בַּכֶּפֶר, Gen. vi. 14. are stated as follows, Tom. I. p. 23. ed. Montfaucon.

כִּפַּרְתָּ בַּכֶּפֶר. Α. αλοι- φης αλοιφη. Σ. ιλαστήριον. Ο. ασφαλισεις.	Heb. Bituminabis bitu- mine A. linies linimento. S. propitiatione. LXX. bitu- minabis. Vulg. bitumine linies.
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The insertion therefore of *ιλασεις* is not only without authority, but even contrary to the rules of probability; for if this verb had been used by Symmachus, Origen would have undoubtedly quoted it, as he has quoted the verbs used by Aquila and the Seventy. Unless therefore we have recourse to fiction, we have no means of determining what sense Aquila intended to ascribe to this passage: whether he understood by *ιλαστήριον*, the covering or roof of Noah's ark, in the same manner as it signifies the covering of the sacred ark, or whether he intended to express a remote and mystical meaning. Our author conjectures the latter, for he has explained *ιλας ις ιλαστήριον* (an explanation which I have omitted in the translation) 'thou shalt make an offering of atonement by building the ark,' but whatever latitude be given to typical theology, the conversion of Noah's ark into an emblem of propitiation, must appear extraordinary even to those, who have made the deepest researches in that branch of learning.

16. This is really an uncandid statement of Ernesti's argument. Our author has not mentioned in what part of Ernesti's works this example is given, but it is contained in his *Opuscula Philologico-critica*, p. 214. Now it must appear inconceivable, how a critic like Ernesti, whose cool and impartial mode of reasoning was never doubted, could unite two such heterogeneous principles, as a Greek derivation and a Hebraism. Nor is the assertion founded on fact; for though Ernesti relates, p. 214, that the Greek fathers explained *παρακλητος* by means

means of παρακαλιω, yet, p. 215. where he gives his own opinion, he has recourse to a Hebraism alone.

## PAGE 189.

17. As stated by our author, but not as stated by Ernesti. That the Chaldee word פִּרְקָלִיט has no other meaning than that of advocatus, is ungrounded; for in the very passage of Buxtorf, to which our author appeals in proof of this assertion, it is explained likewise interpre, and this is the sense which Ernesti ascribes to παρακλητος, for he explains it divinæ veritatis ad Apostolos interpre.

18. We have the choice then of three interpretations of παρακλητος. 1. That of advocate, its classical sense, and adopted by the Greek fathers. 2. That of interpre, given by Ernesti, and grounded on the authority of the Chaldee word פִּרְקָלִיט, which admits that sense, and was probably used by Christ himself. 3. That of monitor, adopted by our author, on the authority of a passage in Philo.

## PAGE 190.

19. The meaning of πορνειον, in the passage of Julius Pollux, on which our author grounds his new interpretation of πορνεια, can be determined only by the explanation, which the learned Greek writer himself has given. He explains it as synonymous to οικημα, which not only admits not the sense of a cook's shop, but was used in particular to denote a house of debauchery. The following passage in Stephani Thesaurus, Tom. II. p. 1221. puts the matter out of doubt. Peculiariter autem Atticis οικημα dicebatur domus in qua meretrices se exponabant, lupanar, το πορνειον, teste Hesychio et Polluce forsan δι' ευφημισμον. Athen. Lib. XIII. ex Philem. πρῶτος Σολων δια την των νεων ακμην εστησεν επι οικηματων γυναια πριαμενος. He produces likewise a passage from Suidas to the same purpose. Our author's explanation therefore of πορνειον is contrary to the testimony of the Greeks themselves. Besides, if Julius Pollux had understood

derstood *πωρεσιον* in the sense of a cook's shop, he could have been induced by no motive to add *α καὶ εἰρηματα* *αυ τις εἰποι*, but as soon as we understand it in its usual sense, the motive is obvious, for the learned and elegant preceptor of Commodus recommended the use of a term which, though similar in sense, is less indelicate according to its derivation. The appeal to the *Etymologicum magnum*, though it favours of learning, is totally useless, for by the very same argument that a derivative is made to signify meat sold in a market, because the primitive signifies to sell, it might be applied to every article of merchandise whatsoever. That *πωρεσια* is the feminine of an adjective, is an assertion supported by no authority, and the sense ascribed to it by a modern Greek, can have no influence on the Greek idiom of the first century, especially as the passage quoted by Du Fresne is written in the language not *mediæ*, but *infimæ Græcitatis*. The premises therefore being ungrounded, the inference must be equally invalid: but even had the premises been true, no inference could be drawn from *πωρεσιον* to *πωρεσια*, for they are totally distinct words. The former occurs very frequently in the classic authors, the latter in not a single instance. The first traces of it are found in the Septuagint, where it is used in forty-six examples, and is invariably the translation of some derivative of *מָכַר*. The Apostles and Evangelists, who borrowed it from the Greek version, ascribed to it of course the same meaning with the Seventy, and as they have used it in twenty-six examples, there seems no reason for making an exception to this instance in particular.

The difficulty of the passage, which our author has attempted to explain by the discovery of a new meaning for *πωρεσια*, consists in the seeming impropriety of forbidding in the same sentence fornication, and the eating of things strangled, with meats offered to idols. But is no instance to be found of moral and positive precepts enumerated in the same catalogue? The celebration of the sabbath is assuredly a positive command; for though  
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the will of the Deity, whether made known by revelation, or the light of nature, is equally binding, yet no one would refer an abstinence from labour every seventh day to the class of moral obligations. If we appeal then to the sacred decalogue, we find the moral command to abstain from adultery, united with the positive command to celebrate the sabbath. By the law of Moses it was as strictly forbidden to partake of the flesh of strangled animals, as it was strictly commanded to rest on the seventh day: and since it appears from the Acts of the Apostles and the epistles of St. Paul, that the precepts of the Pentateuch were abrogated only by degrees, it seems by no means extraordinary that the decree of the council in Jerusalem should contain a mixture of moral and positive commands.

## PAGE 191.

20. Our author has here a vast display of learning to prove what no one ever doubted, viz. that *υποκρινομαι*, among other senses, has that of *respondeo*, and he would have afforded equal satisfaction, both to himself and his readers, by a simple appeal to Stephani Thesaurus, Tom. II. p. 438. But he has produced not a single instance of *υποκρισις* in the sense of *responsum*, which alone is the object of our present inquiry: he says indeed that this is its classical meaning, but this assertion he supports by no authority. That the verb, from which it is derived, admits the sense of *respondeo*, is a very insufficient argument, for when a primitive has several senses, usage only can determine which of them in particular is communicated to the derivative. Besides, it is probable that *εις υποκρισιν*, James v. 12. for which our author has attempted to discover a new sense, is a spurious reading. In the Cod. Alex. the text is *ΙΝΑΜΗΤΠΘ ΚΡΙΣΙΝΠΕΣΗΤΕ*, ne in *judicium incidatis*, and this sense is expressed in the Syriac, Arabic of Erpenius, Coptic, Æthiopic, and Vulgate: but later transcribers mistaking *υπο κρισιν* for *υποκρισιν* (the words being written in ancient MSS. without intervals) inserted *εις* to

fill up the sense. This erratum has been copied in the early printed editions of the Greek Testament, but later editors have restored the original reading.

21. The word used by our author for the translation of *υπερπαιτης* is 'wetterdeuter,' which corresponds to the English phrase 'weather-wise.' Now as *υπερπαιτης* *ονειρων* signifies an interpreter of dreams, it is possible that *υπερπαιτης* *καιρων* might signify an interpreter of the weather; but as the genitive, which determines the meaning of *υπερπαιτης*, is wanting, Matth. xv. 3. Luke xii. 56. its application seems to rest on a very precarious foundation. And since the character of hypocrisy is so frequently and so justly ascribed to the Pharisees in the New Testament, and they are very frequently addressed under the title of *υπερπαιται*, where no reference can be had to the weather, there is no reason for making an exception to this example, even though a part of the discourse related to the times and seasons.

22. It seems extraordinary that any difficulty should ever have been found in this passage, for as the literal meaning of *ק* is chorda, from *קק* tetendit, the transition from the string to the sound, which it produces, is as natural in the Hebrew, as that *τενος* in the Greek, which signifies literally tensio, should signify figuratively a sound.

23. This assertion is either too general, or not accurately expressed. It is true that an Hebrew quiescent in He cannot correspond to an Arabic quiescent in He, because that letter never quiesces in Arabic; but who will undertake to determine that a Hebrew quiescent cannot possibly correspond to an Arabic non-quiescent? In Castelli Lexicon Heptaglotton are many examples of this kind, for instance *גלה* and *جال*; and as there is no *جلى* at least not in that sense, it necessarily follows, if we reject this principle, that the scanty Hebrew has words, to which none correspond in the copious Arabic.

## PAGE 192.

24. This mode of grammatical reasoning seems to be an inversion of natural order. The transition from the string to the sound, which it produces, is a progressive motion, and therefore natural; but that from the sound to the string, which produces it, is retrograde, and therefore unnatural.

25. Admitting that the Nabla, or, as written in Hebrew, Nebel, had twelve chords or strings, is it a necessary consequence, because Josephus ascribes to it δωδεκα φθόγγοι, that φθόγγος and χορδή are synonymous? Josephus has here studied variety, and to avoid the repetition of the same word, describes the cause in the former instance, the effect in the latter; but cause, and effect, though nearly allied, are not the same. We may say with equal propriety of the French harp, that it has thirty-four chords, or thirty-four demi-tones, but no man would therefore conclude that the words chord and demi-tone have the same import.

26. But since he has certainly borrowed it from Josephus, this passage from Theodoret affords no additional evidence.

27. In the passage of Lucian, to which our author refers, we find the expression τόνοι φθόγγων, by which he understands the tones of musical strings; but Gesner, in his Note to φθόγγος, makes the following quotation from Arrian, κοινὴ τις ἀκοὴ λεγοίτ' αὐτῇ ἢ μόνον φωνῶν διακριτικὴ, ἢ δὲ τῶν φθόγγων ἔκτι κοινὴ, ἀλλὰ τεχνικὴ. In music therefore φωνή was applied to the tones of a rude and uncultivated voice, φθόγγος to those modulated by art, and this distinction makes the whole passage in Lucian perfectly clear, without having recourse to an explanation of φθόγγος, which seems to be ungrounded.

28. Lest the reader should have forgotten in the midst of these literary inquiries, to what text of the New Testament they have reference, it may not be improper to remind him that it is Rom. x. 18. οὐκ ἔσται γὰρ ἡ γῆ ἐξηλασμένη φθόγγος αὐτῶν.

## PAGE 194.

29. Our author here appeals to the authority of Suidas, Julius Pollux, Thucydides, and Herodotus, to shew that *δικαιον* admits the sense of *punio*, which is not only given in every Lexicon, but is perfectly analagous to its derivation. He would have saved therefore both himself and his readers a great deal of trouble, had he confined his inquiries to *δικαιωμα* alone, which does not appear to have been ever used in the sense of *pœna*. It is true that he refers his readers to Suidas for that purpose, but he has not attended to the distinction which the Greek Lexicographer makes between *δικαιωμα* in the singular, and *δικαιωματα* in the plural. Suidas illustrates the former by the following example, *οὐδεν δικαιωμα των οπλων ισχυροτερον*, *nullum jus est armis potentius*, but gives no instance of the sense of *pœna*. The latter, which is contained in a separate article, he explains by *νομος, εντολαι, κριματα*, and adds at the end of the paragraph *δικαιωματα δε και αι κατακρίσεις*. But even could an instance be found where *δικαιωμα* in the singular signifies *pœna*, what should we gain by the discovery, and to what purpose are we informed of the subtleties of dogmatists, in regard to active and passive obedience, or the disputes between Grotius and Hammond, whether *δικαιωματα* included the whole, or only a part of the Levitical precepts? Let us appeal to the passages themselves, where we shall find that the application of the sense of *pœna*, or *condemnatio*, is productive of more absurdities than our author imagines. In the first example, Rom. v. 18. *δικαιωμα* is used in opposition to *παρπτωμα*, if therefore it signifies *pœna*, a word expressive of punishment is put in opposition to a word expressive of a crime, though the two ideas are connected by the near relation of cause and effect. In the verse almost immediately preceding, viz. ver. 16. which relates to the same subject, we find *το δε χαρισμα ex πολλων παρπτωμάτων εις δικαιωμα*, whence, if the word in question be translated *pœna*, it necessarily follows that the favour of God leads to condemnation. The  
other

other example is Rom. viii. 4. *ἵνα τὸ δίκαιωμα τῆ νομῆ πληρωθῇ ἐν ἡμῖν τοῖς μὴ κατὰ σὰρκα περιπατοῦσι ἀλλὰ κατὰ πνεῦμα*, from which it follows, on the same principle, that punishment will be the lot of those who walk, not *κατὰ σὰρκα*, but *κατὰ πνεῦμα*. With respect to our author's appeal to the intended reform of Aristotle, it is difficult to comprehend with what design he has made it, for if this reform was rejected by the Greeks, as he himself relates, it is a circumstance unfavourable to his own hypothesis.

## APPENDIX TO SECT. XIV.

## PAGE 195.

30. The following catalogue of queries, which form an Appendix to this section, is intended by our author as a kind of exercise in sacred criticism; but as some of them are either not stated with sufficient accuracy, or imply a difficulty in some particular word of a text in scripture, where the difficulty appears to consist in another word of the same passage, the reader will excuse any digression of the translator, even though it may seem foreign to the query itself.

31. The sense of *intestinum rectum* is ascribed to *αφιδρων* in no Lexicon ancient or modern. It is usually explained *cloaca*, but Suidas says that it signifies also *τὸ μέρος τῆ σωματος τὸ περὶ τὴν ἐξοδὸν*, which Stephanus very properly interprets *sedes*, and the sense of *intestinum rectum*, which has no other foundation than this passage of Suidas, is a false interpretation of the words used by the Greek lexicographer. *Αφ' ἰδρων, ἀπο τῶν ἰδρων. Ἐδραι γὰρ λεγόνται αἱ σιλλαί, σιλλαρία, σωτηρία· ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ εὐθεία ὁ αφιδρων, καὶ σημαίνει τὸ μέρος τὸ περὶ τὴν ἐξοδὸν, ὅτι ὁ αφιδρων καὶ λυτρῶν βαρβαρα. Tom. I. p. 392. ed Küster.* Here *εὐθεία* evidently denotes *εὐθεία πτωσις*, *casus rectus*, and could

could not possibly agree with *ο αφιδρων*, even if this word signified intestinum, which is however contrary to the explanation of Suidas himself. In another passage, viz. Tom. I. p. 289. he uses it as signifying cloaca. *Αποπατον και κοπρωνα λεγεται, ο δ' αφιδρων και λυτρων βαρβαρα.*

32. This charge is really ungrounded. The words quoted by Wetstein are *αποπατον και κοπρωνα λεγεται ο δ' αφιδρων και λυτρων βαρβαρα*. The words which Wetstein has not quoted, and which our author probably means, are those mentioned at the beginning of the preceding Note. Suidas then ascribes to *αφιδρων* two senses, the latter of which our author prefers, and gives it an improper explanation; but as it does not appear to have been adopted by Wetstein, the omission of the last quotation is no argument that the learned critic has shewn the contrary of what he intended to demonstrate. Besides, the accusation is founded on a glaring mistake; for Wetstein has quoted from p. 289. and has given the quotation complete, whereas our author supposes that he has quoted from p. 392. because the two passages end with the same clause.

33. It must not be sought in the writings of Hippocrates and other pure Greek writers, for *αφιδρων* is called by Suidas *ρημα βαρβαρον*.

#### PAGE 196.

34. This objection, though our author describes it as very ancient, is grounded on a false explanation of the word in question. It is wholly inapplicable to the passage in St. Matthew, and can affect that of St. Mark only on the two following suppositions: 1. That *αφιδρων* signifies in that passage intestinum rectum, which is absolutely impossible, because *εις τον αφιδρωνα εκπορευεται* is opposed to *εις την κοιλιαν εισπορευεται*. 2. That the neuter particle *καθαριζον* refers to the masc. noun *τον αφιδρωνα*, which, if *καθαριζον* be the true reading, (and our author has proposed no alteration) is wholly inadmissible.

35. This is explained both in Castelli Lexicon Heptaglotton, and Schaaf's Lex. Syriacum by *latrina*, and  
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is never applied to any one of the intestines. The reading therefore of the Syriac version confirms the generally received meaning of ἀφιδρών, and our author's query appears to be as useless, as the objection, which he relates, is ungrounded. In the Cod. Cant. instead of ἀφιδρών is ὄχρεος.

But there is a material difficulty in one of the texts in question, though foreign to the present inquiry, which relates merely to the confirmation of passages from the classic authors. The words of our present Greek text, Mark vii. 19. are εἰς τὸν ἀφιδρώνα ἐκπορεύεται καθαρίζον πάντα τὰ βρώματα. Now whoever impartially considers the forced and unnatural explication, which is usually given of this passage in referring καθαρίζον to παν (in the preceding sentence) with which it is wholly unconnected, and at the same time examines the structure of the whole period, will be convinced that the words, as they stand at present, proceeded not from the pen of the sacred writer. Transcribers themselves have felt the difficulty which attends the usual reading, for they have altered καθαρίζον, as appears from different MSS. to καθαρίζων, καθαρίζει and καθαρίζειν. But the most probable conjecture is that of Markland, who supposed it to have been written originally καθαρίζοντα, which, though the learned and ingenious critic has himself supported by no authority, derives great force from the evidence of the Syriac version, where we find ܐܕܪܘܢܐ ܡܢ ܐܦܝܕܪܘܢܐ ܥܝܬܝܬܐ ܕܥܡܢܐ ܥܝܬܝܬܐ ܕܥܡܢܐ ejicitur in secessum, qui purgat omnem escam. It is true that no MS. now extant, or to speak more properly hitherto called, has καθαρίζοντα, yet the last syllable once omitted by mistake in an ancient MS. might produce an error in many hundred subsequent copies. In the present instance the omission is easy to be explained, as not only καθαρίζοντα, but likewise the three following words end with the same syllable τα; and if the writer of the Codex Cantabrigiensis could add τα to καταβαινόν, Matth. iii. 16. and thereby produce a false concord, it is equally possible that a transcriber of St. Mark's Gospel might be guilty of the same fault through an omission.



36. This difference makes the two examples wholly dissimilar, for in the Hexapla it is used as an active verb, according to its common application, whereas St. Mark has used it as a neuter, which is hitherto without example. This remark is made on the supposition that the Greek text of this passage is genuine, and that the omission of an accusative is to be ascribed not to a transcriber, but to the writer himself, which at least admits a doubt, since παραδίδωμι is used in 121 examples of the N. T. and, except in this instance, invariably as an active.

37. In fact they are wholly unsatisfactory in the present inquiry, which relates to κρυπτη used as a substantive, and every one is acquainted with its use as an adjective, without having recourse either to Strabo or Josephus. In the quotation from the former, p. 377. refers to the edition of Almeloveen.

## PAGE 197.

38. Kypke in his *Observationes sacræ*, Tom. I. p. 302. has produced not less than three examples of παραίτησις, viz. from Plutarch, Antoninus and Longinus. It is extraordinary that these should have been unknown to our author, as they are contained in a work, which he strongly recommends. To the examples discovered by Kypke may be added a fourth. See Arriani *Epictetus*, Lib. III. Cap. 16. Tom. I. p. 425. ed. Upton.

39. This is explained by Suidas διαίτησεις.

40. Kypke in his *Observ. sacræ*, Tom. II. p. 89. has produced the following instance from the *Io* of Euripides, v. 693. αλλων τραφεις αφ' αιματων. Now it is true that St. John has opposed εκ Θεου to εξ αιματων, whereas there is no opposition of that kind in Euripides: but αφ' αιματων in the latter, as well as εξ αιματων in the former, refers to human origin.

41. These two examples are in Gale's *Opuscula mythologica*, p. 636. 638.

42. Our author should have determined in what the difficulty of this passage consists. The common and obvious

vious explanation is 'one favour instead of another,' which St. John himself explains in the following verse, by opposing ο νομος Μωσεως to η χαρις, και η αληθεια Χριστου. The phrase therefore is similar to προαιρεσθαι θανατον ανι-βιν, or βιον ανι-θανατον, which is a very common mode of expression. As it does not appear necessary, in order to justify the necessity of a phrase, to discover an example where precisely the same word is used before and after ανι, the following may be mentioned as at least similar, χαριν ανι της ευεργεσιας, quoted by Stephanus, Tom. IV. p. 349. from the Cyropædia. If our author means that the difficulty consists in χαρις, which in the N. T. is usually translated 'grace,' but here signifies 'benefit' or 'service,' Stephanus, in his Thesaur. Tom. IV. p. 351, 352, has produced many examples in which χαριν ποιειν and χαριν διδοναι signify beneficium conferre.

43. The fragments of the Pythagorean writers are published in Gale's Opuscula mythologica, printed at Cambridge in 1671, and reprinted at Amsterdam in 1688. The latter is the edition quoted in these notes.

44. There cannot be a stronger proof that the expression is not pure Syriac, than that the Jews themselves misunderstood our Saviour when he said λυσατε τον καλον τετον, and had not the least conception that he referred to his body. The passage to which our author alludes in his Selectæ e Script. Syris, is taken from the writings of Simeon Bishop of Beth Arsama, and it may be seen in Assemani Bibliotheca Orientalis, Tom. I. p. 348. but as the Syrian Bishop had borrowed it from the N. T. it is of little value on the present occasion. The passage in Philo is εκ οικια ψυχης το σωμα: and that in Scipio's dream is menscujusque is est quisque, non ea figura quæ digito demonstrari potest, &c. To the examples mentioned by our author may be added the following from Timæus (Gale's Opuscula mythologica, p. 557.) ως τ' αλλα μερια τας ψυχας και τω σωμαϊⓈ υπηρειειν τελεω, καθαπερ υπ' αυτω τω σκανηⓈ απανⓈ, where the body is called the σκηνηⓈ or tabernacle of the soul. In the following passage from Lucretius,

cretius, Lib. V. v. 104. the word *templum* itself is used

—— *humanum in pectus, templaque mentis.*

45. In Stephani Thesaurus, Tom. I. p. 1130. is the following example from Plato, *εἰμι τῆς πόλεως τῆσδε*, which Stephanus explains *je suis de cette ville*. It may be used then with equal propriety, whether the person is actually present in the city of which he is an inhabitant, or not.

46. This query is not clearly and fully expressed, for the fulfilling of the proverbial saying is denoted by the whole phrase *ἐν τῷ εἶναι ὁ ἀληθινός*, *in eo verum reperitur*.

47. The single word *διαλαγή* will probably defeat this request, for it does not appear to have been ever used by the classic authors. Stephanus says, that in this sense they have constantly used *διαλαξίς*, nor is *διαλαγή* used more than once in the Septuagint, and only twice in the New Testament.

48. This is a very indeterminate query, as St. Paul has used *καταργεῖν* in a great variety of senses.

#### PAGE 198.

49. Stephanus, after producing an example from Plutarch, where *προσαγωγή* is used in the sense of *accessus* or *aditus*, adds *Item προσαγωγή accessus et aditus ad principes, qui datur per illorum emissarios, hinc προσαγωγέας dictos, quasi admissionales, ut loquitur Lampridius*. See also Hesychii Lexicon, Tom. II. p. 1040. ed. Albert, where *προσαγωγή* is explained *προσελευσίς*.

50. It is really to be lamented, that our author is so extremely inaccurate in his quotations, as it is impossible to form an adequate judgment, without having recourse to the quoted originals. A former erroneous quotation from Diodorus Siculus I have been able to rectify, but this quotation, though equally false, I am obliged to leave in the translation as it stands in the original.

51. Namely, where *χαρίς* is the antecedent: our author requires therefore an instance from a classic author of *ἐν χαρίδι εἰηκεναι*. But this query is indeterminate.

If

If our author, like Beza, considers *χαρις* in this passage as the means of support, the phrase is similar to that in Livy, Lib. v. c. 44. *respublica stetit victoriâ tuâ*. If he understands simply in *gratiâ*, he requires an instance where *εν χαριτι εσηκιναι* is used for *εν χαριτι ειναι*, in *gratiâ esse*.

52. This character is given it by Stephanus, who had never met with *δοκιμη* as a substantive in any classic author. It is not used in a single instance in the whole Septuagint, and by no other Apostle or Evangelist than St. Paul. But an example may be produced from Symmachus, who has translated *ברצו-כסך*, Psalm lxxviii. 31. *ως δοκιμην αργυριου*. Symmachus therefore understood it in the sense of probatio. See Originis Hexapla, Tom. I. p. 570. ed. Montfaucon. To prevent mistakes, it is necessary to observe that the Psalm which is the 68<sup>th</sup>. in the Hebrew, is the 67<sup>th</sup>. in the Hexapla.

53. It is not to be expected from the nature of the subject, that a whole sentence should be found in a profane writer parallel to the sentence here proposed. Our author should therefore have determined what particular phrase he wishes to have ratified by classical authority, and whether the difficulty consists in the grammatical construction, or in the notion expressed.

54. There is a two-fold difficulty attending Rom. vi. 17. when we attempt to vindicate its classical purity. 1. To produce examples where *υπακω* governs an acc. with the præp. *εις*. 2. Where *παραδιδωμι* is construed in the same manner. With respect to the first, Kypke in his *Obs. sacræ*, Tom. II. p. 167, has produced two examples from Appian, and as many from Josephus, where *υπακω* is followed by *εις*, but the learned critic seems to have confounded the government of a case with its position in the sentence. The first example from Appian, *εκειλευσεν εις παντα υπακειν*, is a proof of this assertion; for *εις παντα* signifies in omnibus rebus, and expresses not the persons or objects, to which obedience was to be paid. An example parallel to the passage in question would be *υπακειν εις τον νομον*, or *εις την διδαχην*, instead of *νομω* and *διδαχη*, but such a case will hardly be found

in a classic writer. The second difficulty, which alone is mentioned by our author, on the supposition that Kypke had removed the first, is equally great, as it is contrary to the practice of the classic authors to say παραδίδουαι εις τινα instead of τιμι. To vindicate therefore the purity of St. Paul's Greek, Kypke proposed to read ος παρεδθη υμιν for εις ον παρεδοθητε.

55. Our author seems here to have had in view the celebrated allegory of Satan, Sin, and Death: but it does not appear that St. Paul, like Milton, has here personified Sin; indeed it cannot possibly have been his intention, because he uses not αμαρτια, but παθηματα των αμαρτιων. Besides, in the proposed translation, the parts of the allegory are wholly inconsistent with themselves: it is likewise incomplete, for if we allegorise a part we must allegorise the whole; and St. Paul has used on this occasion σαρξ, αμαρτιαι in the pl. νομος, and θανατος. Philo, in the place to which our author refers, comments on Gen. vi. 4. but he has nothing which has the least analogy to the passage in question. The same may be said not only of the 43<sup>d</sup>. sentence, but of all the sentences of Demophilus. They are contained in Gale's Opuscula Mythologica, p. 613—625.

56. It may be asked whether οπλα φωτος is not a Hebraism, and whether it does not correspond to קֶלֶךְ הַנֶּחֱמָצִים, for we find קֶלֶךְ הַנֶּחֱמָצִים, Psalm v. 13. which is rendered in the Septuagint οπλον ευδοκίας.

57. Dr. Rosenmüller, in his Note to this passage, has produced the following instance from 2 Kings xxii. 4. σφραγισεν το αργυριον το εισενιχθεν εν οικω Κυριε. Now καρπος in the passage in question denotes figuratively αργυριον, for it signifies the contributions of the Achaean and Macedonian Christians; but the difficulty is to find an instance in a classic author of the discordant metaphor expressed by the union of σφραγιζω and καρπος.

58. If our author requires an example where σφραγιζω is followed by the præp. κατα, the following from the Theognis of Hesiod may be given, which is found both in Stephanus and Scapula.

Τον δὲ Ζεὺς σπριξε κατὰ χθονος ευρυοδειης.

59. The difference between *σαρκινος* and *σαρκικος* is described by Stephanus in the following manner: Existimatur hoc adjectivum (sc. *σαρκικος*) qualitatem potius indicare, ut illud materiam. The former reading therefore, though supported in this instance by great authorities, seems less suitable to the design of the Apostle than the latter; he has constantly used *σαρκικος* whenever he intended to express the opposite to *πνευματικος*: it is therefore improbable that he deviated from his usual practice in this instance alone. Besides, if *σαρκινος* is the true reading, it is the only instance where it occurs in the Greek Testament, whereas the latter occurs in a great number of examples. Our author's request for an instance of *σαρκινος*, according to St. Paul's general acceptance of *σαρκικος*, is attended with no inconsiderable difficulty, because the proper meaning of *σαρκινος* is *carneus*, e carne constans, in the same manner as *ξυλινος* signifies e ligno constans. But there is a passage in Julius Pollux, where the meaning seems to be at least dubious, which is as much as can be expected on the present occasion. *Αριστοφανης δε ειρηκεν. Ως εχ' ετερον ανδρα σαρκινον. Ευπολις δε, σαρκινη γυνη.*

Pollucis Oriomast. Lib. II. Segm. 233.

PAGE 199.

60. Bos in his *Ellipses Græcæ* (art. *πραγμα*) has produced the following example from Artemidorus, *Οι γαρ εν τοιςτοις γενομενοι*, scil. *πραγμασι*, which is an answer to our author's query. It is however a matter of doubt, whether St. Paul in the passage in question intended to express this meaning, though it is usually translated in this manner; for the subject relates not to things, but to persons. The Apostle having delivered rules for the conduct of Christian wives toward heathen husbands, and Christian husbands toward heathen wives, adds *ει δε ο απιστος χωριζεται, χωριζεσθω· & δεδουλευται ο αδελφος η η αδελφη εν τοις τοιςτοις*, 'but if an heathen husband or wife

chuses not to continue in the marriage state, let him (or her) depart: a sister or a brother (that is, the Christian wife or husband) is no longer bound by such persons. This use of the præp. *ἐν* is very frequent in the N. T. though not in the classic authors, the Apostles and Evangelists having borrowed it from the Septuagint, in which the prefix *ἐν* is translated *ἐν*, even where it denotes the cause, instrument, or means. See for instance 2 Kings vi. 22. Psalm xviii. 30. See also Matth. v. 13. xi. 6. xii. 27, &c. An objection may be made to this translation, drawn from the use of the singular; for as the pronoun refers to *αὐτός*, it would have been more accurate if it had been written *τῷ τοῖστῳ*, but as St. Paul is not a classic writer, the learned will determine whether the objection is of weight.

61. The six manuscripts that have *ἐγκακῶμεν*, are those which Wetstein has noted in the second Part of his Greek Testament by A. D. F. 37. 39. 46. Dr. Griesbach has omitted this reading, perhaps because he thought it an erratum. Dr. Harwood, on the authority of the Codex Claromontanus, has taken it into the text of his edition.

62. To these three examples, mentioned by our author, may be added Isaiah vii. 16. where Symmachus has again used *ἐγκακῶ*. See Origenis Hexapla, Tom. II. p. 100. ed. Montfaucon. Symmachus has used likewise the noun *ἐγκακῆσις*, Psalm cxviii. (cxix in the Heb.) v. 143. In these examples *ἐγκακῶ* is the translation of קָצָה or קָץ, *tædio affici*. Wetstein, in his Note to Luke xviii. 1. quotes a passage from Polybius, in which *ἐγκακῶ* is used; but this must be an erratum, for in Polybius himself it is *ἐγκακῆσαν*. Hesychius has *ἐγκακῶμεν*. But the word, which is there used to explain it, is a manifest erratum. See Hesychii Lexicon, Tom. I. p. 1067. ed. Alberti, Note 10.

63. It does not appear that the antithesis is so difficult to be discovered, since fortitude and perseverance are the surest means of overcoming every kind of evil, and St. Paul in particular was in a situation that required the most strenuous exertions.

64. That



64. That *εγκακειω* should ever signify to fall into evil, or as our author expresses it, to be borne away by evil, is not analogous to its derivation, because it is derived from *κακη*, ignavia, timor, and the other compounds, with a præposition *αποκακειω*, *εκκακειω*, are not expressive of improbity, but of indolence or cowardice. Nor would the former meaning be of any advantage to the sentence itself; two similar assertions would be then connected by a particle that denotes opposition, whereas at present it very properly connects the negation of a cause with the affirmation of an opposite effect.

65. Stephanus explains *ανακεφαλαιωω*, capitulatum et summam repeto, and produces the following example from Aristotle, *τα αναγκαια ανακεφαλαιωμενοι*. Now the literal and proper meaning of this verb seems to be not unsuitable to the passage in question, *ανακεφαλαιωσασθαι τα παντα εν τω Χριστω*, that all things be summed up (that is consummated) in Christ. Nor can this be said to be a figurative application of the word; for as it signifies literally to bring scattered materials into one head or mass, so it was the literal meaning of the Apostle, that the scattered predictions of the antient prophets were united in that series of events, which composed the life and death of Christ.

66. In the German original this section is followed by another, which relates to the mode of education in the grammar schools of that country. It contains very sensible and judicious remarks, especially in regard to the pernicious practice of learning Greek from the Greek Testament; but as the reform, which our author proposes, is either inapplicable or unnecessary in the English schools, and relates to local circumstances, which are uninteresting, and perhaps unintelligible, to an English reader, I have taken the liberty to omit it; a liberty which will be the more easily pardoned, as the treatise, though valuable in itself, forms no part of an Introduction to the New Testament.

## CHAPTER V.

OF THE QUOTATIONS FROM THE OLD TESTAMENT  
IN THE NEW.

## SECT. I.

## PAGE 201.

1. *ῤημα* is the translation of *דבר*, Gen. xviii. 14. which signifies *verbum* and *res*, but never *promissum*, nor have the Seventy in any one instance used *ῤημα* for a Hebrew word expressive of the latter meaning. Professor Dathe translates Gen. xviii. 14. *Num quidquam Jovæ nimis arduum esse potest.*

## PAGE 204.

2. Origen appears to have been the first, who used in this manner the term *οικονομία*, in his reply to Celsus, who had objected that many passages of the Old Testament were applied to Christ, which properly related to other subjects. (Origenis Opera, Tom. I. p. 514. ed. Benedict.) Chrysostom likewise in his treatise *περι ιεροσυνης*, Lib. I. cap. 5. writes as follows, *Πολλὴ γὰρ ἡ τῆς ἀπατῆς ἰσχύς, μόνον μὴ μετὰ δολέρας προαγεῖσθαι τῆς πρᾶξι-σεως. Μαλλόν δὲ ἔδε ἀπατῆν το τοιοῦτο δεῖ καλεῖν, ἀλλ' οἰκονομίαν τινὰ καὶ σοφίαν.* The same doctrine was likewise delivered by Athanasius, and most of the other Greek fathers. To this *Œconomia Patrum* our author very properly objects, as, according to their own confession, it was nothing better than a pious fraud. With respect to the term *dispensatio*, used by the Latin fathers, see Du Cange *Glossarium mediæ et infimæ Latinitatis*, Tom. II. p. 1545, ed. Parisiensis, 1733.

3. I know not in what part of Dr. Semler's works the terms *œconomia* and *dispensatio* are used; on the contrary, he adopts the doctrine of accommodation. *Ple-  
rumque*

rumque est accommodatio, non proprie dicta allegatio testimonii de eadem re luculenti.

Semleri Apparatus ad liberalem N. T. interpretationem, p. 96.

## PAGE 205.

4. שֶׁרָשׁ signifies inquisitio, expositio, from שָׁרַשׁ, quæsit (Buxtorf's Lex. Talm. Rabb. p. 584). Various instances of Jewish Medrashim, or allegorical glosses, may be seen in Tychsens Tentamen de variis codicum hebraicorum Vet. Test. MSS. generibus, p. 197—211. See also Simon Histoire critique du texte du Vieux Testament, Liv. III. ch. 5, 6. and particularly Schoettgenii Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ, Tom. II. p. 794.

## PAGE 206.

5. Our author seems not to be aware that St. Paul himself, Heb. vii. 1, 2, gives the very same explanation of מַלְכֵי צֶדֶק as Professor Eberhard. Ο Μελχισεδεκ——  
πρωτον μιν ερμηνευομενος βασιλευς δικαιοσυνης, κ. τ. λ.

6. Our author here alludes to his German translation of the Psalms with Notes, the second edition of which was published at Gottingen in 1782. In the 243<sup>d</sup>. page to which he refers, he states the objections which have been made to the application of Psalm cix. 8. to Acts i. 20. and conjectures that St. Peter was mistaken; a circumstance arising, as he says, from the application being made before the communication of the gifts of the Holy Ghost on the day of Pentecost. It is unnecessary to give here a translation of his objections, as they are stated by Dr. Sykes, in the 3<sup>d</sup>. section of his Introduction to the Epistle to the Hebrews, and his Truth of the Christian Religion, ch. xv.

## PAGE 207.

7. Our author here refers to a work which he published at Halle in 1783, under the following title, Erklärung der Begräbnis-und Auferstehungsgeschichte Christi nach den vier Evangelisten. The place to which

he alludes is p. 25—34. where he explains John xix. 36, 37. *Εγένετο γὰρ ταῦτα, ἵνα ἡ γραφή πληρωθῇ, ὅτι οὐκ ἐκτελέσεται αὐτὴ. Καὶ πάλιν ἑτέρα γραφή λέγει, ὅψονται εἰς οὐρανὸν καὶ ἐκκινήσουσιν.* In the former of these verses St. John is supposed to allude to Exodus xii. 46. in the latter to Zechariah xii. 10. and many commentators contend that he designs only to accommodate those passages to the subject in question, though ushered in by the formule *εγένετο ταῦτα ἵνα ἡ γραφή πληρωθῇ.* Our author on the contrary maintains that Exod. xii. 46. and Zech. xii. 10. are prophecies which immediately and literally relate to the circumstances of Christ's crucifixion; and agreeably to the principles which he delivers in his Introduction, allows no medium between this hypothesis, and the supposition that St. John had made an improper application of the above-mentioned passages.

8. Lest those readers who are unacquainted with the merits of Professor Eberhard, one of the first philosophers in Germany, should receive a false impression with respect to the nature and character of his writings, it is necessary to observe that his object, in the place to which our author alludes, is to reconcile two seemingly contradictory passages in the New Testament. Christ asserts, Matth. xvii. 10—13. that John the Baptist was the Elias whom the Jews expected, whereas John the Baptist himself (John i. 21.) declares that he is not Elias. In order to reconcile the seeming contradiction, Professor Eberhard observes that the prophecy of Malachi (ch. iv. 5.) could not literally and immediately relate to the person of John the Baptist, because in that case there would be an evident disagreement between two passages of scripture; but that the term Elias was adopted by Malachi as a general name of faithful and patriotic Israelites, which our Saviour applies by way of accommodation to John the Baptist in particular, though this application of an indeterminate prophecy is not made by the Baptist himself. It may be likewise remarked that it is of no importance to the Professor's argument, whether Malachi lived before, or after the captivity,

## PAGE 209.

9. According to the Masoretic punctuation שכל is here a noun substantive.

## S E C T. II.

## PAGE 209.

1. Our author rejects therefore all typical explanations of the passages of the Old Testament quoted as proofs in the New, and, which is nearly the same thing, denies the doctrine of a double completion, which, as Dr. Sykes very properly observes, would defeat the end of all prophecy. See the truth of the Christian Religion, p. 213. 241. of the 2<sup>d</sup>. edition, and Dr. Benson's 'Essay concerning the unity of sense, to shew that no text of Scripture has more than one single sense,' which is prefixed to his Paraphrase on St. Paul's Epistles. Jortin, in his Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, Vol. I. p. 124. 2<sup>d</sup>. edition, maintains the contrary opinion.

## PAGE 210.

2. In the second Gottingen edition, printed in 1770, p. 200.

3. The only question to be examined is what the prophet Jeremiah himself intended to express, ch. xxxi. 15—17. not what application later Jews made of this passage. Now whoever impartially reads the whole period, must be convinced that Jeremiah had no other object in view, than the misfortunes inflicted on the Jews by the kings of Babylon. There are two circumstances which confine the words of the prophet to those misfortunes alone. 1. The weeping was heard at Rama: this was the place where Nebuzaradan, the Chaldæan general, disposed of his prisoners after their capital was taken; but the place where Herod exercised his cruelty on the infants was not in Rama, but in Bethlehem. 2. It is said, v. 16. 'they shall come again from the land of the enemy,'

enemy,' and v. 17. 'thy children shall come again to their own border:' these words are wholly inapplicable to the massacre of the infants, and if applied to the misfortunes of the Jews under the Roman emperors, they militate against historical truth; for when Ælia Capitolina was built by Adrian on the ruins of Jerusalem, the Jews were forbidden to approach the city, under pain of death.

## PAGE 211.

4. I know not on what authority our author has here *nundinatus* fit, for in Martianay's edition, Vol. III. p. 679. we find *venundatus* fit, which is much more suitable to the context.

5. The title of this work is *Orientalische Reisebeschreibung von Troilo*, Dresden 1676. In the page, to which our author refers, an account is given of a church on Mount Horeb dedicated to the Virgin Mary, but there is no allusion whatsoever to the subject in question. Perhaps he means p. 293, where Troilo speaks of a *Terebinthus* or Turpentine tree, under which, according to a Christian legend, the Virgin Mary is said to have rested, when she carried Christ as an infant from Bethlehem to Jerusalem.

## PAGE 212.

6. See C. F. Rosenmülleri *Scholia in Vaticinia Jesaiæ*, p. 170. and Sykes's *Truth of the Christian Religion*, p. 211—214. 2<sup>d</sup>. edition.

7. But if Deut. xviii. 15. cannot possibly relate to Christ, there seems to be an impropriety in its application, Acts iii. 22. for St. Peter having said, *καὶ ἀποστείλη τὸν προκεκηρυγμένον ὑμῖν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν*, immediately adds, *Μωσὴς γὰρ πρὸς τὰς πατέρας εἶπεν, ὅτι προφήτην ὑμῖν ἀναστήσει Κύριος, κ. τ. λ.* where the conjunction *γὰρ* clearly shews that St. Peter quotes the passage in Deuteronomy as having reference to Christ. It necessarily follows therefore, either that Deut. xviii. 15. according to its literal meaning refers to Christ, or that beside the literal, it has a mystical meaning, or that St. Peter has improperly applied

plied the passage in question. The latter hypothesis being inconsistent with the infallibility of a divine Apostle, we have the choice only of the two former. But the first is absolutely denied by our author, and the second is likewise inadmissible according to his principles, for he rejects the notion that the prophecies of the Old Testament had a double sense, and have received a double accomplishment. Professor Dathe, in his Note to Deut. xviii. 15. assumes the second hypothesis; Dr. Eckermann, in the second volume of his *Theologische Beyträge*, p. 126. rejects with our author the two former, and explains the application by St. Peter as a mere accommodation. See also Sykes's *Truth of the Christian Religion*, p. 283—292.

## PAGE 213.

8. The 115<sup>th</sup> section of Michaelis's *Dogmatic Theology* relates to future punishments, and has no reference to any passage quoted from the Old Test. in the New.

9. In the passage in question, Rom. x. 6. or rather 5. St. Paul is supposed to allude to Levit. xviii. 5. but in this passage no mention is made of 'faith,' or, as our author says, 'circumcision of the heart.'

10. See Pococke's *Appendix Notarum miscellanea*, p. 14. which is annexed to his *Maimonidis Porta Mosis*, Oxoniæ 1655.

11. This would be written in Hebrew אֱלֹהִים. See Gen. xxxvi. 15. Exod. xv. 15. 1 Chron. i. 51. where it is written in this manner, and rendered in the Septuagint ηγεμονες: but in the passage of Micah there is no Vau.

12. This remark is by no means new, hicce enim locus tam veteres quam hodiernos theologos adeo vexavit, ut ad desperationem redacti Judæorum Phariseos et Scribas perversæ translationis accusarint, ut Matthæum ab omni errore liberarent. Surenhusii *Βελος καταλλαγης*, p. 176. But Surenhusius, p. 180. rejects this excuse, which was first made by Jerom, and has a great display of learning in order to defend the passage.

13. See



13. See Owen's Modes of quotation used by the Evangelical writers, p. 16, 17. Sykes's Truth of the Christian Religion, p. 223, 224, 2<sup>d</sup>. edition, and Blair's Lectures on the Canon of Scripture, p. 147—154.

## PAGE 214.

14. See Sykes's Truth of the Christian Religion, p. 241, 242.

15. This passage from the Chronicle of Edeffa, which our author has printed in his Syriac Chrestomathy or *Selecta e scriptoribus Syris*, is taken from *Assemani Bibliotheca Orientalis*, Tom. I. p. 413. I have preserved in the translation the three Syriac words which he has inserted in a parenthesis, though I know not for what purpose they are introduced, as their literal signification is nothing more than *exponens civitati de eo*. It is likewise difficult to comprehend the object of the quotation itself, as the comparison of Asclepius with Noah has no reference whatsoever to the accommodation of a passage in the Old Testament to an event recorded in the New.

## PAGE 215.

16. The principle of accommodation was adopted so early as the time of Clement of Alexandria, who maintains it under the name of *συμπεριφορά*. See his *Stromata*, Lib. VIII. p. 863. ed. Potter. It has been revived in later ages by Kidder in his *Demonstration of the Messias*, Part II. p. 215. by Nicholls in his *Conference with a Theist*, Part III. p. 10. and by Sykes, not only in the work to which our author alludes, but more at large in his *Truth of the Christian Religion*, Chap. xiii, xiv, xv. Dr. Eckermann, Professor of Divinity in the University of Kiel, extends the doctrine of accommodation to every quotation in the New Testament without exception, proceeding on the hypothesis that the Old Testament contains no prophecy, which literally and immediately relates to the person of Jesus Christ. The title of this work is *Theologische Beyträge*, printed at Altona in 1790 and 1791, in three parts, which compose the

the first volume, and contain a critical examination of all the quotations in the Gospels, Acts, and Epistle to the Romans. The second volume will contain the quotations in the remaining part of the New Testament. Dr. Owen on the contrary, in his *Modes of quotation*, sect. 5. entirely rejects the principle of accommodation, to whose opinion our author is in most cases inclined to accede, though with this material difference, that Dr. Owen admits a typical, our author only a grammatical and literal meaning.

As this doctrine therefore has not only such able advocates, but such able adversaries, it is difficult to determine, which side of the question we should adopt. It seems however to be at least a matter of doubt, whether the principle of accommodation can be admitted where the strong expressions are used, ‘This was done that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, &c.’ A formule of this kind is never used in quoting from a classic author; it is therefore no argument in favour of accommodation in these cases, when Dr. Nicholls, P. III. p. 11. says that no one would object to a writer who should address the Apostles in the words of Virgil’s invocation of the Sun and Moon,

——— Vos o clarissima mundi

Lumina.

Every one must perceive that the cases are wholly dissimilar, and an impartial reader of the New Testament must surely be persuaded, that when the Apostles and Evangelists introduce passages from the Old Testament with the above-mentioned formule, they were themselves persuaded that those passages had in some sense a reference to the events which they recorded, and that the application is not grounded on a parity of circumstances alone. Dr. Sykes, p. 214. replies, ‘The difficulty, or objection against this interpretation arises wholly from our unacquaintedness with the Jewish phraseology. The Evangelists were Hebrews, and wrote as other Hebrew writers did. They did not make a language of their own, nor use a phraseology peculiar to them-

themselves, but did as other Hebrew writers did, and follow their method. To understand them therefore, we are not to judge of the sense and meaning of the Evangelists from the common and ordinary sounds of words among ourselves; but we must enter into the Jewish phraseology, and see what the Jews meant by such and such expressions, and upon what principles *they* reasoned. *Their* ways of speaking, and of quoting, which can be learnt from Jewish writers only, must be looked into; and how unnatural soever they may seem to us, yet we must be determined by them, and only by them. Now it is evident from numberless examples that the Jewish way of writing is exactly agreeable to that of the Evangelists; and the masters of the synagogue applied passages of the Old Testament in senses very remote from that of the original author. Every page of every Rabbi almost will supply us with instances of this kind. And as for the particular term “fulfilled,” they very often meant no more by that, than the happening of a similar event, or an exact agreement in particular circumstances of latter things with former.’

But this learned and sensible writer has produced no examples from the Talmud, or from any Jewish commentator, where similar expressions are used in cases of mere accommodation; and no assertion can be admitted without authority. This omission is the more inexcusable on the present occasion, as the very principle, which he in other respects so ably defends, rests entirely on the decision of the question, Did the Jewish Rabbins, in quoting passages from the Old Testament with a formule of this kind, ‘In this the scripture was fulfilled,’ consider those passages as having themselves reference to the event, to which they applied them, or did they ground the quotation on a mere parity of circumstances? No one has examined this question with more attention than Surenhusius, whose *Βιβλος καὶ ἀλλοιῶν*, printed at Amsterdam in 1713, and his edition of the text of the Talmud present us with the best means of determining on this matter. In his third thesis

De

De formulis allegandi, he compares the expression *ἐπληρωθή η γραφή* with the Rabbinical formules *זו קיים מה שכתוב*, *שכתוב*, hoc confirmat id quod scriptum est, and *זו קיים מה שכתוב* ad confirmandum id quod scriptum est. He then refers to the Tanchuma, fol. 39. col. 3. where Deut. xvii. 7. is quoted with the latter formule, and observes, ex cujus loci applicatione patet illam formulam allegandi 'ad confirmandum id quod scriptum est' non solum alludendi, verum etiam demonstrandi vim habere, quare ita et non aliter res fieri debeat.

17. The words of John xvii. 12. which our author supposes to be taken from Isaiah viii. 18. and where he says the very expression is used, are *ὡς δέδωκας μοι ἐφυλαξα*, but the words of the Septuagint in that passage of Isaiah are *ὁδὸν ἐγὼ καὶ παῖδια α μοι ἐδῶκεν ὁ Θεός*, and in the Hebrew *הנה אנוכי והילדים אשר נתתי לי יהוה*, where the use of the verb *דדומו* constitutes the whole similarity. The passage in Zechariah has not even a shadow of resemblance.

## S E C T. III.

## PAGE 215.

1. An account of the authors, who have engaged in the controversy, whether the quotations in the New Testament were taken from the Hebrew or from the Greek, and who have written on this subject in general, may be seen in Walchii Bibliotheca Theologica, Tom. IV. p. 914—919. Those who are acquainted with German literature will find a short, but excellent treatise, in which this question is examined, and the several quotations in the Gospels and Acts stated with a view of determining this disputed point, in Eichhorn's Allgemeine Bibliothek, Vol. II. p. 947—1019.

## PAGE 216.

2. Our author here answers an objection which he says might be made to the application of Psalm cx. 1.

to

to Christ, because Christ himself says, Matth. xxii. 44. *εἰπεν ὁ Κύριος τῷ Κυρίῳ μου*, to which he replies that τῷ κυρίῳ may still relate to the Messiah, who speaks in the words of the Psalmist.

3. Namely the letter ν, the reading of Matth. ix. 13. being *ελεον*, that of Hosea vi. 6. from which the passage is taken, *ελεος*, according to the common printed text, but the Pachomian manuscript has *ελεον*, as in St. Matthew. See Owen's Modes of Quotation, p. 32.

## PAGE 218.

4. See Owen's Modes of Quotation, sect. ii. and Blair's Lectures on the Canon of the Scripture, p. 80.

## PAGE 219.

5. Our author here refers to Isaiah xl. 14. because in the editions of the Bible with marginal notes no reference is made Rom. xi. 35. to this passage of Isaiah, nor does it appear that the commentators have been guilty of neglect, as the two texts have little similarity.

## PAGE 220.

6. Our author has here translated *שָׁרָה* by the German word *bezwingen*, which signifies 'to force,' but the usual meaning of *שָׁרָה* is *occupavit, hæres fuit*, and this is the sense expressed in the versions.

7. The text of the Codex Alexandrinus in this passage of Amos agrees with Acts xv. 17. but in the Codex Vaticanus *τοῦ Κυρίου* is omitted.

8. Our author has not expressed himself accurately in saying that the genuine text may be restored by putting together the Masoretic and Greek texts, considered as two fragments, for according to the proposed alteration he retains the words of the Hebrew text, changing only ' into ך, and omitting ך.

## PAGE 221.

9. The literal translation of the Hebrew text, according to our author's alteration, is not as he has given it,  
†

it, but, 'and to put an end to the transgression in Jacob,' for **לשוב** is the gerund of Hiphil. With respect to the alteration which he has proposed in the note, his translation is again inaccurate, for **שב** is not the infinitive, but the active participle, and the passage must be translated, 'and to one who turns away iniquity in Jacob,' a reading which by no means approaches to that of the Septuagint and of St. Paul. According to the first alteration, the sense of the Hebrew comes very near to that of the Greek, the verb *αποστρέφω*, though much more frequently the translation of **שוב**, is put however seven times in the Septuagint for **שבת** in Hiphil, and the only circumstance which makes the conjecture improbable is the conjunction Vau, by which the construction is rendered harsh and unusual.

10. The title of the work, to which our author alludes in this sentence, is *Michaelis critisches Collegium über die drey wichtigsten Psalmen von Christo, den 16. 110. published in 1759.* The place in which he examines whether the common reading **חֲסִידִיךָ**, Psal. xvi. 10. be genuine or not is p. 204—218. His principal arguments for rejecting the plural, and reading **חֲסִידֶךָ** in the singular, are the following. 1. According to the Masoretic punctuation, the word is pointed as if it were a singular, and the Masorets have noted in the margin **יְתִיר יוֹד**, i. e. Jod is superfluous. 2. Of twenty manuscripts examined by Kennicott in Oxford and Cambridge, sixteen omit the Jod, also the Cassel manuscript, and four which were consulted by Houbigant. 3. Ancient versions, made before the introduction of the Masoretic points, express the singular, namely, the Greek, the Syriac, the Latin, and Jerom's *Breviarium in Psalmos*. 4. The ancient Jews, in quoting this passage, write the word in question in the singular, and refer it to David. 5. St. Peter, Acts ii. 27—31. and St. Paul, Acts xiii. 35—37. both express the singular. See also Professor Dathe's Note to Psalm xvi. 10. in his Latin translation of the Psalms, published at Halle in 1787. On the other side of the question, see the remarks of

Professor Bruns, p. 23. of his edition of Kennicott's *Dissertatio generalis in Vetus Testamentum*, reprinted at Brunswick in 1783. It is to be observed, that when our author published his *Critisches Collegium*, Kennicott's first dissertation only relative to the state of the Hebrew text had appeared. His edition of the Hebrew Bible, which was printed in 1776, 1780, and De Rossi's various readings contain the authorities to which our author alludes.

11. Namely Acts vii. 14. is *εβδομηκοντα ὡστε*, and also in the Septuagint, Gen. xlii. 27. but in the Hebrew **שבעים** septuaginta.

12. What our author means by Stephen's having preferred the Samaritan reading, I am unable to comprehend. There is no quotation whatsoever Acts vii. 4. for Stephen mentions concisely in that verse, what is related more at large Gen. xi. 31, 32. xii. 1—6. a relation in which the Hebrew, Samaritan, and Greek texts all agree. Besides, where they are different, it is extremely improbable that a native Jew would prefer the Samaritan to the Hebrew reading, considering the perpetual enmity that subsisted between the two nations.

## PAGE 222.

13. Tom. IV. P. I. p. 392. ed. Martianay.

14. Our author here examines the evidence for and against the reading **שנייה** after **והיה**, Gen. ii. 24. It is omitted, namely, 1. In the Hebrew text of the modern Jews. 2. By Onkelos. 3. In the Arabic version printed in the Polyglot. 4. In the Arabic version published by Erpenius. But the following are in favour of this reading, 1. The Hebrew text of the Samaritans. 2. The Samaritan version. 3. The Septuagint. 4. Those passages of the New Testament in which this text is quoted, though these being taken from the Septuagint cannot properly be considered as additional evidence. 5. The Vulgate, as corrected by Jerom. 6. The Syriac version. 7. The Targum of Jerusalem. 8. The Targum of Jonathan.

15. That



15. That is, according to the text of the Vatican manuscript.

## PAGE 223.

16. Vid. Hieronymi Opera, Tom. IV. P. I. p. 392. ed Martianay.

17. The following is the true statement of the difference in the readings Gen. ii. 24. The Codex Alexandrinus and Jerom have αὐτῆς after both πατέρα and μητέρα, the Vaticanus after πατέρα alone, St. Matthew and Philo after neither πατέρα nor μητέρα.

18. Philo has not τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτῆς, but πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτῆς, and agrees not with the Alexandrine manuscript, as our author says, but with the Vatican.

19. Likewise according to Marcion and Tertullian. See Griesbach in loco.

20. This must be an oversight in our author, for the common printed text, Ephes. v. 31. agrees indeed in these words with the Septuagint, according to Bos's edition, which he quotes, but not with St. Matthew. The three texts, Gen. ii. 24. Matth. xix. 5. Ephes. v. 31. agree in the Codex Alexandrinus alone, which has in all three passages προσκολληθῆσθαι τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτῆς.

## PAGE 224.

21. Our author here compares the Hebrew text, Isaiah viii. 14, 15. with the Greek, and points out the alterations, which were made by the Seventy. For an account of the motives which induced them to make the alterations, he refers to his treatise De indicis philosophiæ gnosticæ tempore LXX interpretum, which is printed in the second volume of his Syntagma commentationum.

22. If we except κηρυχῆαι, which St. Luke has for καλεσθῆαι, the only difference in the whole passage between the text of the Evangelist, and the Greek text of Isaiah, ch. lxi. 1, 2. is the insertion of ἀποσείλαι τεθραυσμένους ἐν ἀφ᾽ ἑσθῆς, which is wanting in the Septuagint. Here is a remarkable circumstance, which our author has not

noticed, namely, that for the words *τυφλοις αναλαβὴν*, which immediately precede this clause, and are likewise in the LXX at the end of ver. 1. there is no expression which corresponds in the Hebrew, where we find *פִּקְדוֹן פְּקָדִים* *vinctis compedum solutionem*, which answers to the clause inserted by St. Luke.

23. Some of the manuscripts of the Septuagint have *ον ἐξεκίνησαν*, and also Theodotion, with some of the Greek fathers. See Owen's Modes of Quotation, p. 66, 67.

24. The Seventy, Deut. xxx. 13. have *τις διατίρασθαι ἡμῖν εἰς τὸ πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης*.

## PAGE 225.

25. This conjecture seems unsuitable to the context.

26. This conjecture is improbable, because *בָּרַךְ* governs not a dative, but an accusative. See Deuteron. xxxiii. 3. The common text in this passage of Isaiah is *לְיָ מְנַחֵם*. Now it is true that *בָּרַךְ* signifies *expectavit*: but 'to wait for the Lord,' is the same as 'to trust in the Lord,' and this is precisely what St. Paul means by loving the Lord.

27. See Dathe's Latin translation of Isaiah. Note f. p. 91. of the 2<sup>d</sup>. ed. published at Halle in 1785.

28. *Διαθήκη* is the reading of the Codex Alexandrinus, which our author should have noted, as he usually quotes from the edition of Bos, which follows the text of the Vaticanus. The last-mentioned MS. has *ἡ σκηνή* *μετ' ἐν ὑμῖν*, which is an accurate translation of the Hebrew, and exactly the same as *ἐσκήνω ἐν ὑμῖν*. It is to be observed however, that St. Paul has not *ὑμῖν*, but *αὐτοῖς*.

## PAGE 226.

29. Our author here alludes to Acts vii. 16. *εἰρησάτω ἐν τῇ μνηματί οὐκ ἀποστολῇ Ἀβραάμ τιμῆς ἀργυρίου*. The martyr Stephen therefore speaks of a sepulchre which was purchased by Abraham, and he had probably in view Gen. xxiii. 16—20. though the circumstances of the relation are

are there somewhat different. But our author's remark presupposes that the field was purchased by Jacob, though Stephen expressly mentions Abraham. He must conjecture therefore that reference was made not to Gen. xxiii. 16. but xxxiii. 19. where mention is made of a field purchased by Jacob for *מֵאָה קְשִׁימָה*, which the Seventy have rendered by *καλὸν ἀμυνον*. But the conjecture appears to be devoid of probability. In the passage to which Stephen probably alluded, the price of the field purchased by Abraham is expressly said to have been *τετρακοσια διδραχμα αργυριου δοκιμης*.

30. The violence done to the Hebrew text, in order to make it correspond with the Greek, affects only the Masoretic punctuation, for if *וְשָׁחַתְוּ* be pointed *וְשָׁחַתְוּ*, we have literally *παχυνθη*. See Capelli critica sacra, Tom. III. § 47. p. 212. ed. Scharfenberg, Halæ 1786. But whether the Seventy really understood it in Hophal, and meant to give a faithful translation, or supposing it to be the imperative of Hiphil, made an alteration by design, is at present difficult to determine.

## PAGE 227.

31. Our author means the edition of Martianay.

## S E C T. IV.

## PAGE 230.

1. *Της ποιμενης* is in this quotation, as given by St. Matthew, ch. xxvi. 31.

2. Dr. Owen, in his modes of Quotation, p. 55. quotes the two following manuscripts of the Septuagint which have *παλαξω*, viz. MStus N. 4. Bibliothecæ Sancti Marci Venetiis, et MStus N. 4. Bibliothecæ San Germanensis. Also Barnabæ Epistola § 5.

3. This objection will be wholly removed by the edition to be published at Oxford by Dr. Holmes.

## PAGE 231.

4. Tables of a similar kind were drawn up by Dr. Randolph, and published in 1782, under the following title, *The Texts cited in the New Testament, compared with the Hebrew and with the Septuagint.*

## PAGE 232.

5. It is true that ἀνελος corresponds to the Hebrew, where we find עליו, but it cannot be said to have been altered to ἀνελη, because it was not used by the Seventy, who, as well as St. Paul, Ephes. iv. 8. have the participle ἀναλας. The 3d. person ἀνελη is ver. 9. and can afford no ground for an alteration in the quotation itself.

It is to be observed that our author, though speaking of the Greek, quotes Psalm lxviii. 19. according to the Hebrew.

6. What our author means by a Maronitic Syriac version, made from the Septuagint, I am unable to comprehend. It is true that Syriac versions were made from the Greek, of which the Codex Ambrosianus is an example. See De Rossi Specimen Hexaplaris versionis Syriacæ, Parmæ 1778. Now it is possible that this manuscript has the interpolation in question, but this version is not used by the Maronites, for they make use of the Peshito, a translation of the Hebrew. See Hottinger's Thesaurus Philologicus, p. 242. The Peshito, which is printed in the Polyglots, has not the interpolation. Perhaps our author means the Maronitic Arabic version.

## PAGE 233.

7. Ernesti says only, example τῶν ὁ subinde ad Novi Testamenti lectionem conformata, which is admitted by the best critics, our author himself not excepted. Even so early as the third century the text of the Septuagint had been miserably mutilated, of which Origen loudly complains, and by which he was induced to compose the Hexapla.

8. Whether

8. Whether Christian transcribers have altered the readings of the Septuagint, so as to make them more conformable to the quotations in the New Testament, an opinion which has been entertained by men of the deepest learning, will be best determined when the collation is finished that is now making of the manuscripts of the Septuagint. It is well known that the readings of the Greek version, according to the Codex Alexandrinus, approach nearer to those of the Greek Testament, than according to the Codex Vaticanus. Now our author, in conjunction with many eminent critics, admits that the Vatican manuscript is more ancient than the Alexandrine; it is likewise admitted that the former contains more of the antehexaplarian text than the latter. If then this progression be found to continue, and the conformity between the Septuagint and the Greek Testament increases in proportion as the antiquity of the MSS. decreases, no doubt can be entertained that the suspicion is grounded.

9. I have here preserved the words of the English version, as they are a correct translation of the original, but our author renders the passage as follows, 'In that day a root, which remained in Jesse, shall become a tree, which shall serve as a sign to the tribes of Israel: the Gentiles shall have recourse to it, as to an oracle.' This last phrase he explains as if the prophet had in view a sacred tree, under which oracles were given.

10. If the Seventy had לְנִישָׁא in their Hebrew Bible, as our author supposes, it would have been still inaccurate to have rendered the word by ἀρχεῖν, as the literal translation is ἀρχοντί, נִישָׁא signifying princeps. If קֵנָם be the genuine reading, they were probably led to the translation by the circumstance, that a military ensign is a token of authority.

11. The translation of יִדְרֶשׁוּ by ἐλπίζω does not appear to be totally erroneous, for if I have recourse to any one for assistance, it implies that I have confidence in him.

## PAGE 234.

12. The truth of this conclusion depends on the supposition that our author himself is not mistaken, either in the translation from the Hebrew, or in the statement of Ernesti's hypothesis.

13. This is a refinement, which seems to be wholly ungrounded. No one in reading Rom. xv. 11. αἰνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, καὶ ἐπαινεσάτω αὐτὸν πάντες οἱ λαοί, can suppose that πάντες οἱ λαοί has reference to the twelve tribes of Israel alone: nor is it probable that Isaiah intended to confine עַמִּי to the Jews only. This at least is certain, that the word is very frequently applied to other nations than the Israelites; עַמִּי is rendered by ἔθνος in above an hundred instances in the Septuagint, and on the contrary יְיָ is in several places rendered by λαός.

14. The Codex Laudanus 3. is not the only manuscript, in which these words are found, though the others are not sufficient to warrant their authenticity.

## PAGE 235.

15. Our author here gives an account of the principal editions of the Septuagint, and of the two celebrated manuscripts, the Alexandrinus and Vaticanus, from which most of them have been taken. He censures both of these manuscripts as having been altered from the Latin; but the former has been sufficiently vindicated by Woide, in his preface to the Codex Alexandrinus, and some future Woide will probably rescue the honour of the Codex Vaticanus. It is extraordinary that our author should refer to this part of his Orient. Bibl., as he has entirely altered his sentiments on this subject, as will appear in the chapter relative to the manuscripts of the Greek Testament.

## S E C T. V.

## PAGE 236.

1. Tom. IV. P. I. p. 392. ed. Martianay.
2. Notwithstanding our author subscribes to the opinion of Jerom, yet whoever compares 1 Cor. ii. 9. with Ifaiah lxiv. 3. will find that the two passages have very little similarity. Those who wish to be persuaded of the contrary, may consult Drusius in *parallela sacra*, Tom. VIII. p. 1312. of the *Critici sacri*.
3. See Fabricii *Codex Pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti*, Tom. I. p. 1072. ed. 2<sup>da</sup>.
4. Tom. III. p. 473. ed. Martianay.

## PAGE 238.

5. See Buxtorf's *Lexicon Chal. Talmud. Rabbinicum*, p. 945, 946. Meuschen's *Novum Testamentum ex Talmude illustratum*, p. 212. and Fabricii *Codex Pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti*, Tom. I. p. 813. ed. 2<sup>da</sup>.

6. These have been collected and published by Fabricius, in the work mentioned in the preceding Note, the second edition of which was published at Hamburg in 2 vols. 8<sup>vo</sup>. in 1719 and 1743.

7. See Simon *Histoire Critique du Texte du Vieux Testament*. Liv. I. ch. xix. Waltoni *Prolegomenon VII.* and Hottinger's *Thesaurus Philologicus*, p. 135. where the Jews are rescued from the charge of having wilfully corrupted the Hebrew Bible. Their profound, and even superstitious veneration for every letter in the sacred writings makes the accusation highly improbable; the charge was confined by the fathers themselves to the Septuagint alone, and an alteration in the Hebrew would have been without effect in the controversy between the Christians and the Jews, as the former were for the most part ignorant of that language.



## PAGE 239.

8. This appears to be a mistake in our author. See Note 10. to ch. iv. sect. 11.

9. This conjecture is without authority.

## PAGE 240.

10. The Arabic verb *ذفر* signifies pulcher fuit, and benedixit, but neither it, nor any of its derivatives, is applied in the Lexicon Heptaglotton in the manner which our author relates. The Hebrew *נָצַר* is so far from expressing any opprobrious or disgusting idea, that it signifies fervavit, and hence many critics have explained the word Nazarene, as equivalent to Saviour.

11. The substantive *נֶעֱרַר* signifies furculus, nor does it in itself, or without the addition of an epithet, convey the least notion of uncleanness.

12. See Note 11. to chap. iv. sect. 11.

13. The same explanation is given by Dr. Sykes, in his *Truth of the Christian Religion*, p. 225.

14. If a Chaldee paraphrase had the term Nazarene, *Isaiah liii. 12.* it must have been one that is no longer in existence. The conjecture is highly improbable.

## PAGE 242.

15. The words of Jerom are, *Legi nuper in quodam Hebraico volumine, quod Nazarenæ sectæ mihi Hebræus obtulit, Hieremiæ Apocryphum, in quo hæc ad verbum scripta reperi. Hieronymi Comment. in Matthæum, Tom. IV. P. I. p. 134. ed Martianay. See also Fabricii Codex Pseudepigraphus, Tom. I. p. 1102—1116. ed. 2<sup>a</sup>.*

16. Our author gives here an extract from a letter, which he had received from the learned Woide, dated Jan. 28<sup>th</sup>. 1773. Woide had found in the Bodleian library a Coptic *Læctionarium*, in which the two lessons, appointed for the morning service on the Saturday in Passion Week, were taken, the one from Jeremiah, the other from Matthew xxvii. 1—14. The first lesson has

has the following passage, ‘Jeremiah spake again to Pashur, ye and your fathers have resisted the truth, and your sons, which shall come after you, will commit more grievous sins than ye. For they will give the price of him that is valued, and do injury to him that maketh the sick whole, and forgiveth iniquity. And they will take thirty pieces of silver, the price which the children of Israel have given. They have given them for the potter’s field, as the Lord hath commanded. And thus shall be spoken. The sentence of eternal punishment shall fall upon them, and upon their children, because they have shed innocent blood.’

To this extract from our author’s *Orient. Bibl.* may be added, that Woide discovered the same passage, though with some trifling varieties, in a Coptic MS. preserved in the library of St. Germain, and there marked N°. 51. among the Oriental MSS. in folio. The account is given, p. 14—19. of his essay on the Egyptian versions of the Bible, printed in 1778, in the third volume of the *Kielische Beyträge*. He observes in the same place, that the Oxford MS., from which he translated the passage communicated to our author, is the *Codex Huntingtonianus 5.* and that it is written, not in the Coptic, but in the Sahidic dialect. He adds, that the passage must have stood in both versions at the beginning of Jeremiah xx. The same passage is likewise quoted by Tuki, in his *Rudimenta Linguæ Copticæ*, p. 295. as taken from Jeremiah xx. 4.

## S E C T. VI.

PAGE 244.

1. Our author gives here an account of a manuscript of the Hebrew Bible, preserved in the library of the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, which he himself collated for Kennicott. In this manuscript the first psalm is not numbered, but is placed as a kind of preface to the book

book of Psalms, and that which is usually noted Psalm 2. or 2, is here marked N.

2. Luke xx. 37. Mark xii. 26. ἐπὶ τῆς βάτῃ signifies 'in the section relating to the burning bush,' which according to the modern division, is the third chapter of Exodus. Rom. xi. 2. ἐν Ἠλίου signifies 'in the section in which the actions of Elias are recorded,' which forms at present the 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup>, and 19<sup>th</sup> chapter of the first book of Kings.

## PAGE 245.

3. I know not why our author has written σαρκας αὐτῶν, since 1 Macc. vii. 17. it is σαρκας οσίων. The whole passage is Σαρκας οσίων σε καὶ αἷμα αὐτῶν ἐξεχέων περικλῶ Ἱερουσαλημ, and is taken from Psalm lxxviii. 3. (lxxix. in the Hebrew), with exception to σαρκας οσίων, which is in the preceding verse, and is governed of ἐδέσθω. Now our author must mean that the construction is imperfect, because ἐδέσθω is omitted; but it is evident that the author of the book of Maccabees intended that no verb should be understood, and that he referred ἐξεχέων to σαρκας, as well as to αἷμα, which is indeed an impropriety of language, but no defect in grammatical construction.

4. In these passages, where St. Paul quotes καὶ ἐπιθυμησεις alone, our author supposes that the Apostle leaves his readers to supply what follows, Exod. xx. 17. καὶ ἐπιθυμησεις τὴν γυναῖκα τῆς ὡλησίον σε καὶ ἐπιθυμησεις τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ τ. λ.

5. The verb ποιεῖν, which is expressed Deut. xxx. 14. whence St. Paul has taken the passage in question, belongs to ταῖς χερσὶ, and it is at least a matter of doubt, whether it can with propriety be referred to σωματι and καρδία. In the Hebrew it is evident that יָדָוּגָל has no immediate reference to the words expressive of 'mouth' and 'heart,' which are no instruments of action.

6. In the note, to which our author refers, he gives precisely the same explanation as he has here given.

## PAGE 246.

7. It is true that *αυτη αυτοις παρ' εμς διαθηκη* is found Isaiah lix. 21. and *αυτη η διαθηκη μς*, Jeremiah xxxi. 33. (in the Greek xxxviii.) but the clause *οταν αφελωμαι τας αμαρτίας αυτων* is in neither of those passages.

8. The addition of *πασι τοις εθνεσι το κληθησεται* by no means determines the sense of *οικος μς*, so as to confine it to that of 'Court of the Gentiles.'

9. There is so little similarity between Luke i. 17. and Malachi iv. 6. that it is difficult to determine what is retained, or what is omitted.

10. Our author here observes that St. Paul, Heb. ii. 13. quotes Isaiah viii. 18. in the concise Rabbinical method, leaving a part to be supplied by his readers.

## CHAPTER VI.

## OF THE VARIOUS READINGS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

## SECT. I.

## PAGE 246.

1. A very excellent dissertation on the original manuscripts of the Greek Testament may be seen in Griesbach's *Historia Textus Epistolarum Paulinarum*, sect. ii. p. 41—72. published at Jena in 1777, 4<sup>to</sup>.

## PAGE 248.

2. The title of this work is, *Ulphilæ versionem Gothicam nonnullorum capitum epistolæ Pauli ad Romanos, e litura codicis cujusdam MSti. rescripti in Guelpherbytanâ bibliothecâ adservati dat foras* F. A. Knittel, Brunsvigæ 1763, 4<sup>to</sup>.

3. The

3. The German title of this book is, Versuch einer Erläuterung einer alten Spur der Gothischen Uebersetzung.

## PAGE 249.

4. Our author is mistaken in supposing that *αρχαία*, as well as *αρχαίους*, is found in this passage. It is true that in Pearson's edition, though not in Le Clerc's, *αρχαίους* is in the text, *αρχαίους* a marginal reading; but for *αρχαία*, which occurs twice, there is no various reading, and for that reason *αρχαίους* was not admitted into the text by Cotelier. In the latter part of this quotation from Ignatius our author follows Pearson's text, which differs from Le Clerc's.

## PAGE 250.

5. This quotation is taken from the fifth chapter of the epistle of Ignatius to the Philadelphians, Vol. II. p. 82. ed. Le Clerc. But the first part of that, which immediately follows, must be a paraphrase of our author, for if we except the words *σηλαι εισι και ταφοι νεκρων, εφ' οις γεγραπται μονον ονομαα νεκρων ανθρωπων*, which are in the sixth chapter of this epistle, there is nothing which corresponds in the original.

6. The dissertations of J. E. J. Walch, which were first published separately, were collected and printed in 3 vols. 4<sup>to</sup>. at Jena, in 1756, 1759, 1761. Lardner, in his Credibility of the Gospel History, Vol. II. p. 267. ed. of 1788, Simon, in his Hist. Crit. du Texte du N. T. ch. iv. and Griesbach, in his Historia Textus Epistolarum Paulinarum, sect. ii. §. 5. are of a different opinion.

## PAGE 252.

7. Vid. Semleri Commentarii de antiquo Christianorum statu, § 22.

## S E C T. II.

## PAGE 254.

1. But is it not possible that the *αμαθείς* and *ἀσηπικτοί*, of which St. Peter speaks, were inhabitants of those cities, to which the respective epistles were addressed? If so, an inference to the contrary, from these premises alone, is ungrounded.

## PAGE 255.

2. Our author seems here to confound ancient with modern times, in which the learned, as a recompense of their labours, enjoy the exclusive privilege of publishing their own works. But it is highly improbable that St. Paul was in this situation, who having no other object in view than to propagate the Christian religion, instead of reserving to himself the right of distributing copies, would rather have promoted their distribution in the highest possible degree. See Col. iv. 16. Our author speaks likewise of the publication of St. Paul's epistles as of the edition of a modern volume, whereas it is most reasonable to suppose, that they were gradually communicated from society to society, and that many years elapsed, before they formed a single and complete collection. Nor does the hypothesis of St. Paul's being his own editor solve the difficulty, which arises from the supposition of his having written a great number of epistles, beside those which are now extant; since in that case no reason can be assigned why the Apostle, in the publication of his own works, should have confined the number to thirteen only.

3. Our author's conjecture, that the spurious epistles, against which St. Paul warns the Thessalonians, were not addressed to that community, because the imposture would have been too glaring, is highly probable. But the inference, which he thence deduces, seems by no means to be warranted by these premises alone. The  
spurious

spurious epistles, to which the Apostle alludes, were probably addressed either to the Christians in general, or to some community at a distance from Thessalonica, in order to conceal the fraud: and the mark of distinction, which is given 2 Thess. iii. 17. *Ο ἀποστόλος τῇ ἐμῇ χειρὶ Παυλῆ, ὅ ἐστι σημεῖον ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ*, was intended, as a proof of authenticity in the originals themselves. That every transcript, which was communicated from society to society throughout the Christian world, was signed by St. Paul, in the same manner as modern treatises are sometimes signed by the editor or bookseller, in order to prevent an illegitimate edition, is not only improbable in itself, but unwarranted by the passage, to which our author refers.

## PAGE 256.

4. On the supposition that these single copies had no errata, but this our author himself denies.

5. Griesbach, in his *Historia Textus Epist. Paulin.* sect. ii. § 12. is of opinion that the collection of epistles, called by the ancients, *ο ἀποστολος*, and *το ἀποστολικον*, was not made till after the time of Justin Martyr. See also Semleri *Hist. Eccles. selecta capita*, Tom. I. p. 18, 19. and Semleri *Commentarii historici de antiquo Christianorum statu*, Tom. I. p. 35—39. On the other side of the question, see Mosheim *de rebus Christianorum ante Constantinum* M. p. 87. Mill, in his *Prolegomena*, §. cxcv. supposes it to have been made in the second century, though earlier than Griesbach conjectures.

6. The antiquity of the old Syriac version of the New Testament will be examined in the following chapter: but the opinion, that it was written so early as the first century, is supported by arguments, that are rather specious, than real.



## S E C T. III.

PAGE 257.

1. See Bishop Watson's Tracts, Vol. III. p. 283—289.

PAGE 260.

2. Even the learned and judicious Whitby, in his *Examen variantium lectionum N. T. Milliani*, expresses some anxiety at the immense number of various readings, which had been produced by Mill, and which are said to amount to thirty thousand. But the necessity of criticism in the study of the Greek Testament was at that time not so generally admitted, as at present.

## S E C T. IV.

PAGE 263.

1. Our author gives here an account of the two manuscripts of Cesar de Missy, with a catalogue of their various readings; but a translation of his description belongs not to the present place, but to the chapter relative to the manuscripts of the Greek Testament.

## S E C T. V.

PAGE 263.

1. See the Remarks on a late Discourse on Free Thinking by Phileutherus Lipsiensis, (Bentley) § xxxii. p. 63—68. ed. 5<sup>th</sup>. London 1716.

PAGE 264.

2. But our author himself admits that no MS. of the Hebrew Bible is now extant, that is not more modern than the Masora: and, as the Jews have invariably considered this as an infallible text, no doubt can be made that the manuscripts, which are now in our possession, were regulated by that standard. Nor have Kennicott

and De Rossi, with all their learned labours, been able to discover variations, which justify a contrary opinion.

3. The charge laid to the Jews by the ancient fathers related rather to the Greek version, than the Hebrew original.

PAGE 265.

4. Our author here reviews Dr. Kennicott's edition of the Bible, from which he produces a variety of extracts; but as the original is accessible to every reader, an abstract in these notes would be useless.

PAGE 266.

5. These laws have been given by Wetstein with great clearness and precision, in his *Animadversiones et Cautiones*, printed at the end of his Greek Testament, Vol. H. p. 859—874. This, with some other small treatises of Wetstein, was published at Halle in 1766, with Dr. Semler's Notes and Additions, under the title *Wetstenii Libelli ad crisin atque interpretationem Novi Testamenti*. It is a publication which should be in the hands of every critic.

6. Our author here reviews Dr. Semler's Latin paraphrase of the Gospel of St. John, and accedes to his opinion that John v. 4. is spurious. Griesbach, in his Greek Testament, expresses likewise the same opinion.

7. Our author is not accurate in saying that no various reading has been found to those passages; for John i. 1. instead of  $\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$  the Cod. Stephani  $\eta$ , and Gregory of Nyssa have  $\circ\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ : on the other hand, Rom. ix. 5. some of the fathers have quoted without  $\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ . See Wetstein and Griesbach in loco.

PAGE 267.

8. A distinction has likewise been made between  $\omega\alpha\tau\alpha\ \gamma\gamma\alpha\gamma\eta$  and  $\omega\alpha\tau\alpha\ \tau\ \gamma\gamma\alpha\gamma\eta$ , 2 Tim. iii. 16. See Simon Hist. crit. du texte du N. T. ch. 23. Again in the same passage the omission of the conjunction  $\kappa\alpha\iota$ , though trivial in itself, makes a material alteration in the sense,  
as

as in that case *ὑποκειμένη* denotes a qualification of *γραφή*, instead of being its predicate.

## S E C T. VIII.

## PAGE 271.

1. This section consists of two in the German original, which I have thrown into one for the sake of perspicuity, in order that a single and separate section might be allotted to each of the five causes of various readings.

2. Particular attention must be paid to the clause ‘to which in other respects no objection can be made;’ for if solid objections can be made to any word, its omission, though supported by the authority of only a single manuscript, is worthy of notice, especially if that manuscript be ancient and correct.

3. In this case the right to a place among the various readings increases in proportion as the manuscripts, which agree in the omission, differ in age, country, class, or, as Bengel expresses it, family.

## PAGE 272.

4. Of this omission no notice was, or could be taken by Mill, Wettstein, or Griesbach, as the Fragmentum Borgianum has not been in Europe more than thirteen years. Professor Hwiid collated it in Rome, and communicated its principal readings to our author.

5. Our author has here enumerated the twelve examples, which Knittel has observed in his manuscript of the Revelation, viz. ch. ii. 2. vii. 6. viii. 7. ix. 1. x. 6. xi. 9. xviii. 22. xx. 5. xxi. 11. 12. 15. xxii. 6.

6. Our author gives here a catalogue of instances, in which words and sentences are omitted, propter *ομοιοτέλειον* in the Cassel manuscript of the Hebrew Bible. They amount to not less than eighty.

## PAGE 274.

7. For that very reason it is a matter of doubt, whether the principle of an *ομοιοτέλειον* can be applied to

the above-mentioned passage, Matth. xxvii. 35. which our author defends, in opposition to Wettstein and Griesbach. For the manuscripts, in which the passage is omitted, are not only by far the most numerous, but the most ancient, and differ in age, country, and character; whereas the twelve, in which it is found, are of a much inferior rank, and nearly of the same class, not to mention that the omission is supported by the authority of the most ancient versions. That an interpolated passage should end with the same word, as the sentence, after which it is inserted, is at least possible, and this possibility alone is sufficient to defeat the argument for its authenticity derived from an *ομοιοτελευτον*, when we consider the great authorities which pronounce against it. That the formule, with which the quotation from the Psalms is introduced, Matth. xxvii. 35. is different from that used by St. John, ch. xix. 24. may be explained on the supposition, that the interpolator, in order to conceal the fraud, altered the formule by design agreeably to Matth. xiii. 35. It may at the same time be observed, that the application of the title *προφητης* to David is not peculiar to St. Matthew, for when the ancient Jews spake of the Law and the Prophets, they included the book of Psalms under the latter title, and St. Luke, Acts ii. 30. expressly calls David *προφητης*: nor has St. Matthew given him this title more than once.

8. See Bengel's Apparatus Criticus, p. 676. 2<sup>d</sup>. edit. But the principle of an homœoteleuton is wholly inapplicable to 1 John v. 7. independently of the weight of evidence that is brought against it. For if the original text in this passage had been that of our common printed editions, and a transcriber in the hurry of copying had been guilty of an omission, propter homœoteleuton, he would have left out the second *μαρτυρεις*, with all the words which lie between it and the first *μαρτυρεις*, but would have retained *εν τη γη*, which come *after* the second *μαρτυρεις*. The text therefore, which would have arisen from an omission, propter homœoteleuton, is the following, *Οι τρεις εισιν οι μαρτυρεις εν τη γη, το πνευμα,*  
*και*

καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸ αἷμα. Now as this reading is found in no manuscript either ancient or modern, or, in other words, as the effect, which must have been produced by an omission, propter homœoteleuton, has never taken place, it follows that the cause likewise itself did never exist.

## PAGE 275.

9. The origin of this reading in the Fragmentum Borgianum may be explained on other principles. The Cod. Cant. has ΟΧΛΟΤΟΡΝΑΚΟΥΣΑΝΤΕΣ, and if the Borgian fragment was copied from a MS. which had this reading, the transcriber omitted the Ν.

10. This is an oversight: our author means the Claromontanus, and the mistake arose from the circumstance that Wetstein has noted both manuscripts by the letter D.

## PAGE 276.

11. As that for instance John vii. 40. where for πολλοὶ ἐκ τῶν οὐλῶν ἀπεσάντες the Cod. Cant. has πολλοὶ ἐκ τῶν οὐλῶν ἐν ἀπεσάντες.

12. Our author has here printed a letter which he had received from Professor Adler, at that time in Rome. The principal part of the letter relates to the Philoxenian version; but in the page, to which reference is here made, is given a list of orthographical errors in the celebrated Codex Vaticanus, and two other Vatican manuscripts, N°. 354 and 1548, which had been communicated to Adler by Professor Birch of Copenhagen, who was at the same time in Rome collating manuscripts for his edition of the Greek Testament. The orthographical errors in the Codex Vaticanus, arising from what is called the Itacism, amount to twenty nine in the eight first chapters of St. Matthew, of which only a collation is here given; but it is unnecessary to specify them at present, as they may be seen in Birch's Greek Testament, the first volume of which is already published under the following title, Quatuor Evangelia Græce, cum variis a textu lectionibus Cod. MSS. Bibliothecæ Vaticanæ,

canæ, Barberinæ, Laurentianæ, Vindobonensis, Escorialensis, Havniensis regię, quibus accedunt lectiones versionum Syrarum, Veteris, Philoxenianæ, et Hierosolymitanæ, jussu et sumptibus regiis edidit Andreas Birch. Havinæ 1788, fol. et 4<sup>to</sup>. The principle excellence of this splendid work consists in the complete extracts, which are given from the most important manuscript perhaps existing, which before the time of this learned editor had been very imperfectly collated.

13. In the Orient. Bibl. Vol. XVI. p. 164. our author reviews Professor White's edition of the Philoxenian version of the four Gospels, published at Oxford in 1777, and takes notice in particular of several orthographical errors in the Greek readings, written in the margin of the manuscript, from which the edition was printed. They relate chiefly to a confusion of *o* with *ω* and *ι* with *η*, but it is unnecessary to produce particular examples, as the edition of the Philoxenian version is accessible to every reader. Vol. XVIII. p. 173. our author has printed a second letter from Professor Adler, dated Rome, Nov. 1, 1781, in which he gives an account of a manuscript of the Philoxenian version, which is much more correct in the marginal Greek readings, than that presented by Mr. Ridley to the university of Oxford, and from which it appears that the errors of the Oxford manuscript are not to be ascribed to the editor, Thomas of Heraclea. For a description of this MS. see Adler's *Versiones Syriacæ*, p. 64, 65.

14. The Itacism consists in pronouncing *η* like *ι*, to both of which letters the modern Greeks give the sound of the Italian *i* or the English *e*.

PAGE 277.

15. The substitution of *χρησος* for *χρῖσος* may be also explained on the principle of a paronomasia; for Clement of Alexandria (*Stromat. Lib. II. sect. 4.*) says, *αὐτὰ οἱ εἰς χρῖσον πεπιστευότες χρησοὶ τε εἰσα καὶ λεγούται*. It must be acknowledged however that this very paronomasia implies a similarity of the sounds of *η* and *ι*.

16. Though

16. Though our author appears to differ from Weide in his manner of explaining the orthographical errors of the Codex Alexandrinus, yet in fact these eminent critics both agree. Weide says, in the paragraph to which our author alludes, 'Jam brevi et planâ demonstratione patebit e libris Ægyptiacis, qui nobis supersunt, Ægyptios æ uti, et : uti æ pronunciasse.' Our author likewise accounts for these errors from a want of proper distinction in the manner of pronouncing : but instead of calling it Egyptian pronunciation, as it was not confined to Egypt alone, the same errors being found in manuscripts not written in that country, uses the term Itacism, taken in the most extensive sense of the word.

17. It is well known that after the time of the Ptolemies the ancient Egyptian language was written with Greek letters, the inhabitants of that country adopting the Greek alphabet, to which however they added eight letters of their own, as being expressive of sounds to which none exactly corresponded in the Greek. See Montfaucon's *Palæographia Græca*, Lib. IV. cap. 7. or Didymi *Grammatica Coptica*, p. 39—42.

## PAGE 278.

18. Others again δι, for instance the Claromontanus a primâ manu, though δι ex emendatione.

19. Wetstein has quoted four manuscripts for αἰν-  
πας, to which Griesbach has added two others, but of these six the Codex Alex. is the only one of great antiquity.

20. Griesbach has taken ιι δι, Rom. ii. 17. into the text of his edition.

21. The Hebrew text, Job xxxiv. 17. differs so materially from that of the Septuagint, that it is difficult to determine whether it decides for ιδι or ιι δι. Perhaps our author means v. 16. where ιδι likewise occurs, which undoubtedly ought to be ιι δι, because the Hebrew is  
דני.

22. Our author should rather have said four Codices Græco-Latini, for the opprobrious title Codex Latini-



zans has been less frequently applied since the days of Semler, Griesbach, and Woide, than in the beginning and middle of the present century. These four manuscripts are the Claromontanus, Sangermanensis, Augiensis, and Boernerianus, which are quoted by Weistein for *διε υπελασσενθαι*; but that learned critic is mistaken, at least with regard to the Boernerianus, which has *διε υπερασσενθαι*, though the Latin translation written over the Greek text is *subditi estote*. See Matthäi's edition of the Codex Boernerianus, fol. 17. It was published at Meissen in Saxony in 1791, 4<sup>to</sup>.

## PAGE 279.

23. Our author must here be understood not of the Vulgate, which has a different reading from that which he prefers, but of the Latin version, with which the four above-mentioned Codices Græco-Latini are accompanied.

24. See above, Note 12. The examples of orthographical errors produced by our author, in which *e* and *o* are confounded in the celebrated Codex Vaticanus, amount to four only in the Gospel of St. Matthew, from which alone they are taken, viz. ch. viii. 12. *εξωτερον*. xiii. 15. *ιασομαι*. 55. *ιακωβος*. xxiv. 15. *ισος*. But the first and third examples, if they are not errata in our author's publication, differ not from the common reading. The instances of a similar nature, taken from the Codex 354, are confined to St. Luke's Gospel, and are ch. ii. 24. *τρυγονον*, 38. *ανθομολογειτο*. ix. 45. *ισθονλαι*, where there is likewise an error arising from the Itacism, x. 19. *διδομι*. xi. 25. *ελθων*. xiii. 3. *απωλισθαι*. xiv. 29. *αρχωνλαι*. xvi. 5. *χρεοφυλειον*. 31. *πεισθησωνλαι*. xvii. 10. *οφειλομιν*. xviii. 5. *υποπιαζη*. xix. 3. *ερχωμαι*. From the Codex 1548 only two examples of this kind are given, Luke xv. 32. *απωλωλος*. xix. 33. *ειπων*.

25. See above, Note 13.

## PAGE 280.

26. Here is an erratum which I have not been able to correct.

27. Our

27. Our author here quotes p. 155. of Ptolemy's Geography, without mentioning the edition, but he means that which was published by P. Montanus in 1605.

28. Our author here gives extracts from Velthufen's Observations on Various Subjects, printed in London 1773: but as the original is accessible to every reader, a translation of the extracts is unnecessary.

## PAGE 281.

29. It may seem extraordinary that our author should speak of a translation from the Hebrew in the Greek apocryphal book of Esdras (that is in the first book of Esdras in the Apocrypha of the Vulgate and the modern versions, for the second no longer exists either in the Hebrew or in the Greek) as this book is generally supposed not to have existed in a Hebrew original. See Gray's Key to the Old Testament and Apocrypha, p. 527. But in Eichhorn's Allgemeine Bibliothek, or Universal library of biblical literature, Vol. I. p. 178—232. there is a very excellent essay, from which it appears that the Greek book of Esdras, though not a literal translation, includes the Hebrew Ezra, with a part of Nehemiah, and a few chapters of the Chronicles. Now with respect to **בְּנֵי אַמּוֹן** which our author supposes to have existed in the original Esdras v. 34. it is at the utmost a probable conjecture, as it can be supported by no evidence. In the Syriac version, which would afford the best means of discovering the truth, there is unfortunately a chasm in this chapter from ver. 14. to ver. 40. The Cod. Vat. has *αλλωμ*, the Al. *αδλων*, Breitinger's edition *αλλων*, the Vulgate *Malmon*. If the list of Jewish families enumerated Esdras v. corresponds to that given Ezra ii. the thirty-fourth verse of the former must correspond to the fifty-seventh verse of the latter, but here we find **בְּנֵי אַמּוֹן**, to which no various reading is given by either Kennicott or De Rossi, though Ammon is a marginal reading in the English version. Yet our author's hypothesis is ingenious, and affords a solution of the different readings in a passage, where a proper name and  
not

not an adjective was undoubtedly designed to be expressed.

30. Our author has here inserted a letter which he had received from Dr. Lefs, dated Paris, March 20, 1775. The manuscript, in which he found it difficult in many cases to distinguish B from K, and H from N, is the Codex Stephani 7.

PAGE 282.

31. To which may be added the Codex Cantabrigiensis, published by Dr. Kipling. Various specimens of ancient Greek writing may be also seen in Pococke's Greek Inscriptions, Montfaucon's Palæographia Græca, and Blanchini Evangeliarium quadruplex.

42. This reading was preferred by Wettstein: and Griesbach has taken it into the text of his edition.

33. This manuscript is noted by Griesbach in the book of Revelation, Codex 30.

PAGE 283.

34. For the reading  $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\theta$ , see Mill and Griesbach, as Wettstein has quoted only the Cod. Alexandrinus.

35. See above sect. v. Note 6.

S E C T. IX.

PAGE 284.

1. See Montfaucon's Palæographia Græca, Lib. V. cap. 5.

2. There are two different readings  $\pi\rho\alpha\zeta\iota$  and  $\pi\iota\varsigma\iota$ , 1 Macc. xiv. 35. for which Grotius accounted by supposing them to be different interpretations of an abbreviation  $\overline{\Pi N}$ . This our author denies; he has assigned no reason, but he probably concludes from the circumstance, that this mark of abbreviation for  $\pi\iota\varsigma\iota$  or  $\pi\rho\alpha\zeta\iota$  is found in no manuscript now extant.

PAGE 285.

3. The readings, which arise from a false conjecture with respect to a faded letter, are totally different from those,

those, which are occasioned by wrongly interpreting an abbreviation. Nor is Griesbach's hypothesis unsupported by fact, for he has produced an instance from Tertullian. See his *Historia textus epistolarum Paulinarum*, sect. iii. § 6. See also Semler's *Appendix observationum*, printed at the end of his edition of Weistien's *Prolegomena*, p. 587. Mill is likewise of the same opinion, *Proleg.* 626. This at least is certain, that if we reject the hypothesis, we have no method of accounting for the origin of such different readings as *ερχομεν* and *εργαζομεν*, *ανομιαν* and *αμαρτιαν*, *αλλων* and *αμαρτιων*, *ωμοσειν* and *ωμολογειν*, &c. But if we admit that in the ancient MSS. of the four first centuries these words were abbreviated, a difference in the mode of decyphering them affords a simple and an easy solution.

## PAGE 286.

4. It is probable not only that this reading is spurious, but likewise the former, and that the true text is *ευλογημενη η ερχομενη βασιλεια τα πατρος ημων Δαβιδ*. See Griesbach in loco.

5. Published at Copenhagen in 1773, 8<sup>vo</sup>.

## PAGE 287.

6. The persons enumerated Matth. xiii. 55. are James, Joses, Simon and Judas; but they are there mentioned as brethren of Christ, not as sons of Alphæus, nor can Alphæus by any explanation be shewn to have been their father; for, if *αδελφος* be taken in its proper sense, they were the sons of Joseph and Mary: if in its most extensive sense, it is probable that James and Joses were the sons of Cleopas and Mary, the sister of the mother of Jesus. Compare Matth. xiii. 55. with Matth. xxvii. 56. and John xix. 25. That Alphæus had likewise a son who was called James, affords no argument that they were one and the same person. The reason therefore assigned by our author, why *Ιακωβου* was written as a scholion to *Λευι*, is without foundation; and the true reason is, that Alphæus is never mentioned in the New Testament

ment but as the father of James, except Mark ii. 14. the passage in question. The proprietor therefore of some ancient manuscript, accustomed to the expression *Ιακωβον τον τε Αλφαιου*, concluded that *Αντων τον τε Αλφαιου*, which occurs only once, was a false reading, and ventured to write *Ιακωβον* in the margin, as a critical though unwarranted conjecture.

7. The common printed text Mark viii. 24. is *Βλεπω τις ανθρωπος, ως δειδρα περιπατητας*. But Wetstein and Mill prefer *Βλεπω τις ανθρωπος οτι ως δειδρα ορω περιπατητας*, and this reading is supported by the best authorities. Now that the latter clause *οτι ως δειδρα, κ. τ. λ.* was originally written as a marginal scholion in order to explain a difficult passage, as our author supposes, is improbable in itself, and supported by no authority. If he means only that *οτι* and *ορω*, which make the difference between the common text and that which is preferred by Wetstein and Mill, were inserted with that view, the insertion defeats the very end for which it was made, as the construction is much more intelligible without them.

8. To these scholia may be added another, viz. *παρὰ πλωμαίων*, the reading of the Cod. Claromontanus.

#### PAGE 288.

9. Griesbach, who has rejected *δεξασθαι υμας* from the text of his edition, has a full stop at the end of the fourth verse: and it is more reasonable to suppose that the fifth verse commences a new sentence, than that *χαριν* is governed by *ιδωκαν*. Chrysostom likewise, in his remarks on this passage in his sixteenth Homily, Vol. X. p. 555. ed. Montfaucon, refers to *χαριν το δομενοι*, for he says, *τι δομενοι ημων; την χαριν και την κοινωνιαν της διακονιας της εις τις αγιας*.

10. Theophylacti Commentarius in 2 epist. ad Corinthios, cap. viii. 4. p. 384. ed. Lindsell, Lond. 1638.

#### PAGE 289.

11. Chrysostom makes no mention of an ellipsis, and if the several parts of this passage. 2 Cor. viii. 4, 5. on which  
which

which the learned father has commented separately, be put together, they form the following text, *Μετα πολλης παρακλησεως δεομενοι ημων την χαριν, και την κοινωνιαν της διακονιας της εις τας αγιας· τῆς ον ημας παρεκαλυν, ωστε ημας αναδεξασθαι την τοιαυτην διακονιαν, και ο καθως ηλπισαμεν.* That the clause between *εις τας αγιας*, at the end of ver. 4. and *και ο καθως ηλπισαμεν*, at the beginning of ver. 5. was not intended by Chrysostom as an ellipsis, appears from his very silence on that head, and that he really quoted it as a part of St. Paul's text, appears from the introducing it by the word *φησι*. Now this is the clause which Theophylact says is wanting, a term which is attended with some obscurity, but Mill has certainly mistaken the reasoning of the Greek father, in saying, 'in supplementum sententiæ addi debere *αναδεξασθαι ημας* notat Theophylactus,' for Theophylact not only makes no mention of any imperfection in the sense, but applies the term *λειπει* to the whole clause, not to *αναδεξασθαι ημας* alone. Whether this clause, which Chrysostom seems to have found in his copy of St. Paul's epistles, but which was wanting in that used by Theophylact, and which he said should be supplied, be genuine or not, is another inquiry.

## PAGE 290.

12. Our author here ventures a conjecture against the unanimous authority of the Greek manuscripts, in all of which without exception is found *ο μη ομολογει*. It is likewise the reading in the quotations of all the Greek fathers; it is in both Syriac versions, as well as the Arabic, Coptic, Æthiopic, and Armenian: it is likewise more suitable to the context, as, St. John having said in the preceding verse *ο ομολογει τον Ιησυν*, it is natural to expect that the antithesis should be *ο μη ομολογει τον Ιησυν*. It is true that in the Vulgate and several other Latin translations we find *solvit Jesum*, but that there ever existed the Greek reading *ο λυει* depends on the relation of Socrates (Hist. Eccles. Lib. viii. cap. 32.) Our author says very properly that *ο λυει* cannot be

be a scholion explanatory of *ο μη ομολογει*, but we must not therefore conclude that the latter is a scholion of the former. If the relation of Socrates be true, it is probable that *ο λυει* is an ancient but wilful corruption, made to obtain an additional text against the Cerinthians. See Mill's Note to this passage.

13. This reading is quoted by neither Mill, Wetstein, nor Griesbach; it is probably a mistake for *ομοια ορασει σμαραγδινω*, the reading adopted by Wetstein.

14. Griesbach has quoted this MS. for *ορασις σμαραγδινω*.

15. The reading of the Wolfenbüttel MS. or Griesbach's Codex 30. is not a composition of the common with a various reading, but a mere inversion of the former. It is nothing more than *ο μετα τατο ψευδοπροφητης*, for *μετα τατο ο ψευδοπροφητης*.

16. The German title of this book is, Knittels neue Criiken über den Spruch, Drey sind die da zeugen. Brunswick 1785.

#### PAGE 291.

17. See Note 2. to sect. 1.

18. Nostra vero sententia, quia apud Latinos, ad quorum codices illa lectio reficta est, Spiritus est generis masculini.

Wetstein's Note to Matth. iii. 16.

#### PAGE 292.

19. This example is taken from the Cassel manuscript, which for *לך*, Dan. v. 25. has *לך*, and, which is extraordinary, a stroke is drawn across *ך* as a token that it ought to be erased. Here our author with great reason conjectures, that the stroke of erasion was designed for the Jod, and that by accident a wrong letter was expunged, in the same manner as the word Dele, written in the margin of a corrected sheet, gives frequently occasion to the removal of a different letter, or word, from that which the corrector intended.

20. Namely, the Syriac text expresses not *οτι πρωτη*  
*παρση*



πασων εντολων . . . . . και αγαπησεις, but πρωτη πασων εντολων . . . . . και οτι αγαπησεις.

## PAGE 293.

21. See Dr. Semler's Note to John v. 4. in his Paraphrasis in Evangelium Johannis.

22. It surely lies within the province of a collector of various readings to take notice of so remarkable a passage, in so remarkable a manuscript as the Codex Cantabrigiensis: and not only the Greek text of this passage, but likewise the two Latin translations our author has literally copied from Wetstein's Greek Testament. The Greek text, given by Mill and Griesbach, has a different orthography in some of the words, for instance μικρα for μικρα, ηττων for ηττον.

23. In Gale's Opuscula Mythologica, p. 627. 629.

## PAGE 294.

24. See Griesbach's Note to Matth. xx. 28.

25. Another very convincing argument that this passage was written originally in Greek is, that it existed in Greek manuscripts at Alexandria before the year 616, as appears from a marginal note in a manuscript of the Philoxenian version, formerly in the possession of Assemani. See Adler's Versiones Syriacæ, p. 90, 91.

## S E C T. X.

## PAGE 296.

1. Compare Wetstein's Prolegomena, p. 22. with Woide's Preface to the Codex Alexandrinus, § 87, 88, and Spohn's Note to this last paragraph,

2. Velthusen's Observations on various subjects were printed in London 1778, 8<sup>vo</sup>.

3. The reference to Wetstein's Prolegomena belongs rather to the preceding page.

## PAGE 297.

4. In the *Orient. Bibl.* Vol. VII. p. 138. our author has printed a letter written by Woide, dated April 18<sup>th</sup>. 1774, in which he relates that the *Codex Ephrem.* 1. Tim. iii. 16, has  $\overline{OC}$ , where the stroke over  $\sigma$  shews it to have been meant for  $\overline{\Theta C}$ . He relates also in the same letter, that  $\Theta\sigma$  is not only at present, but even a *primâ manu*, the reading of the *Codex Claromontanus*. In defence of this account Woide wrote another letter to the editor of the *Kielische Beyträge*, dated Sept. 1, 1776, which is printed in the third volume of that work, p. 147—188. with two French letters, dated *Bibliothèque du Roi*, Sept. 3<sup>d</sup>. and Sept. 24<sup>th</sup>. 1776, in opposition to Woide.

In the *Orient. Bibl.* Vol. IX. p. 143. is a letter which our author had received from Dr. Lefs, dated Paris, March 20<sup>th</sup>. 1775, in which he says, that he could discover in that passage of the *Codex Ephrem* only fragments of letters, or at best detached letters in the midst of chasms. The testimony of Griesbach, for which our author refers to the *Orient. Bibl.* Vol. X. may be seen at large in the preface to the second volume of Griesbach's *Greek Testament*, p. 9—11. With respect to the various authorities, for and against the different readings 1. Tim. iii. 16. beside the notes of Mill, Wetstein, and Griesbach, which last critic has arranged the evidence in the clearest light, may be consulted Sir Isaac Newton's second letter to Le Clerc, which was first printed in London in 1754, from an authentic copy in the Remonstrant's library in Amsterdam, and more correctly by Dr. Horsley, from the author's own manuscript, in his edition of Newton's Works, Vol. V. p. 531—540. See especially Griesbach's *Symbolæ Criticæ*, p. iii—liv.

## PAGE 298.

5. The *Codex Alexandrinus* is not the only manuscript in which unfair practices of this kind have been admitted,

admitted. The Codex Ephrem, and Codex Claromontanus, have suffered in the same manner. See Wettstein's and Griesbach's Notes to 1 Tim. iii. 16. Griesbach's *Symbolæ Criticæ*, p. xiv. and the preface to the second volume of his Greek Testament, p. 9, 10.

## PAGE 299.

6. For that reason Griesbach has rejected them from the text of his edition.

7. Matthæi's edition of the Greek Testament was published at Riga, in 12 vols. 8<sup>vo</sup>. between the years 1782 and 1788. It contains a great variety of readings from Greek manuscripts preserved in Moscow, where the learned editor was formerly Professor.

## PAGE 300.

8. By the term 'ancient edition,' which without explanation may appear obscure, our author understands what Semler and Griesbach have expressed by the word *recensio*. This subject will be examined at large in the chapter relative to the MSS. of the Greek Testament: in the mean time may be consulted Griesbach's Preface to the 1<sup>st</sup>. vol. of the Greek Testament, p. 9. his *Symbolæ Criticæ*, p. cxvii—cxxii, or his *Historia textus epistolarum Paulinarum*, sect. i. § 20.

## PAGE 301.

9. For that reason Griesbach has removed them from the end of the 16<sup>th</sup>. to the end of the 14<sup>th</sup>. chapter.

10. Repetunt hîc (scil Malach. iii. 24.) curiosi quidam Judæi versum penultimum consolatorium post ultimum anathema comminantem, eodem modo ut in Jesaia, Lamentationibus Jeremiæ, et Ecclesiaste.

Biblia Hebraica, van der Hooght, Tom. II. p. 160.

## PAGE 302.

11. See Dr. Semler's treatise, *De duplici appendice Epistolæ ad Romanos*, Halæ 1767, 4<sup>to</sup>.

12. Our author has here printed a letter written by

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Professor

Professor Birch relative to the Codex Vaticanus. In the page, to which he particularly refers, an inaccuracy is corrected relative to the five Vienna manuscripts, of which Professor Treschow had said that the passage in question was wanting at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup>. chapter, but had neglected to mention that it was placed at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup>. Now as Birch quotes by the numbers 57. 67, 68, 69, 70. according to the present notation in the Imperial library, and Treschow, who describes them in his Tentamen, p. 55—83. quotes the numbers ascribed to the Imperial manuscripts by Lambecius, viz. 1. 34, 35, 36, 37. it might be doubted, by those who have no opportunity of comparing the two catalogues, whether they meant the same five manuscripts. It is certain however, that the Cod. Lambecii 1. has the passage at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup>. chapter, for this is the manuscript from which Alter has printed his Greek Testament. See Vol. II. p. 132. of his edition: see also p. 758. where it appears that the Cod. Lambecii. 35. has it in the same place. And as Alter has likewise collated the Codd. 36. and 37. and has noted no deviation from the Codex 1. we must conclude the same also of these manuscripts.

13. Also in the Armenian version, and the Arabic of the Polyglot.

14. Griesbach says, 'Reliqua usque ad finem epistolæ cuncta dissecuit Marcion.' The evidence of Marcion therefore, with respect to the position of the passage in question, is of no importance.

15. I have left this sentence as it stands in the German original, but it is necessary to observe, that of these four manuscripts quoted by Griesbach, the three last are erroneously interpreted by our author. For Cantabrigiensis, Basil 2. and Regius 54. must be read Clarómontanus à primâ manû, Sangermanensis, and Regius 1886 nunc 219. In the list of errata, he says the whole sentence must be expunged; but this is unnecessary, as it needs only the correction which has been here given. Griesbach has likewise quoted the Cod. Harleianus 5552. but

but adds 'in margine docet εν τοις παλαιois αντιγραφοis in fine cap. 14. hæc inveniri.

16. Griesbach, on whose critical accuracy we may in general rely, quotes the Armenian version as having the passage likewise at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup>. chapter.

17. This is absolutely denied by Matthäi, the editor of the Codex Boernerianus, who is best able to form a judgement on this subject. He asserts that both the Latin and the Greek texts are written by the same hand, and with the same ink. See his Preface to the Codex Boernerianus, p. xv.

## PAGE 303.

18. Our author should have added a secundâ manû, or ex emendatione, for the Claromontanus a primâ manû has the passage at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup>. chapter.

19. With this difference, that the 14<sup>th</sup>. chapter ends with εις τας αιωνας, the 16<sup>th</sup>. with εις τας αιωνας των αιωνων. See Woide's Catalogue of the various readings of the Codex Alex. Rom. xvi. 27. But this is not the only manuscript in which the passage is found at the end of both chapters: Griesbach discovered it in both places in the Cod. Colbertinus 2844, and also in the Armenian version.

20. See Note 14.

21. See Note 18.

## PAGE 304.

22. Our author's statement would have been more clear, if instead of five, he had made only four divisions. 1. Of such authorities as have the passage at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup>. chapter only. 2. At the end of the 16<sup>th</sup>. chapter only. 3. At the end of both chapters. 4. At the end of neither chapter. In consequence of his arrangement, the same evidence is produced twice, namely, No. 3. and No. 5.

## S E C T. XI.

PAGE 305.

1. Apparatus Criticus, p. 488. ed. 2<sup>a</sup>.

PAGE 306.

2. The German title of this book is, Knittel's Beiträge zur Kritik über die Offenbarung Johannis, printed at Brunswick in 1773, 4<sup>m</sup>.

PAGE 307.

3. Because ἀλλήλων and λεγομένοις had immediately preceded.

4. Weistein's 7<sup>th</sup>. rule, Vol. II. p. 859. is, Inter duas variantes lectiones, si quæ est ὑψηλότερα aut planior, aut Græcantior, alteri non protinus præferenda est, sed contra sæpius. See also Griesbach's Pref. to the 1<sup>st</sup>. vol. of his Greek Testament, p. 14: Note (\*).

PAGE 309.

5. Griesbach quotes likewise the two Persian, and the three Arabic versions.

6. See Blanchini Evangeliarium quadruplex, Part II. p. 462.

7. Namely Ephrem a primâ manû, Cantabrigiensis, Stephani 7.

PAGE 310.

8. I have taken the liberty to abridge this paragraph, as our author's remarks, with respect to Dr. Semler, breathe rather a spirit of personal enmity, than that of cool and critical enquiry. This is not the place to examine Dr. Semler's principles of criticism; it is sufficient to observe, that they are held in high esteem by the best judges, though his conjectures, like those of our author, and of every other critic, are sometimes ungrounded: a circumstance at which no one should be surpris'd, as the province of criticism is confined within the bounds of probability, and can seldom or never extend to absolute certainty.

9. This

9. This general statement of the rule given by Dr. Griesbach, betrays either great inattention in our author, or, what is worse, want of candour. For that learned and accurate critic adds, in the very place to which our author refers, ‘Excipe tamen lectiones breviores, α) ex homoioteleuto ortas, aliasque talium locorum, in quibus ad omittendum librarius non poterat non pronior esse quam ad addendum, β) e difficultate lectionis plenioris enatas, γ) ingenio ac stilo scriptoris minus convenientes quam pleniores. This last clause in particular must rescue Griesbach from the charge, which our author has laid to him. Besides, Griesbach has mentioned four conditions, which ought in general to take place when the short reading is preferred: but these our author passes over in silence. See Griesbach’s Preface to the 1<sup>st</sup> vol. of his Greek Testament, p. 14. Note (\*). See also Wetstein’s 9<sup>th</sup>. rule, p. 862, 863. of the 2<sup>d</sup>. vol. of his Greek Testament, with Dr. Semler’s remarks on it, p. 64. of his edition of Wetstenii libelli ad crisin atque interpretationem Novi Testamenti.

## PAGE 311.

10. Wetstein relates the opinions of Mill and Bengel, but is totally silent with regard to his own. If our author argues from Wetstein’s having retained the common reading, the inference is at least vague, as it is well known that Wetstein’s text follows in general the common printed text. Among the manuscripts which have *ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ* are the Alexandrinus, Cantabrigiensis, and Basiliensis B. VI. 21. Griesbach seems to prefer this reading.

11. *Ἐκ αὐτοῖς* a primâ manu, *ἢ αὐτῶς* ex emendatione.

12. This inference, which appears to be extremely irrational, is founded on the very same principle which Dr. Semler often applies when he rejects a reading as spurious. Our author therefore can have no reason to censure a critic, who argues on the same ground with himself.

13. Here again the Cod. Cant. for *κν* has *λαμβανουσιν τινες*.

## PAGE 312.

14. Our author has here mentioned Bengel and Wettstein, as if they were the only critics that adopted the above-mentioned rule, and has passed over Griesbach in silence, as if he were a critic of inferior order. But Griesbach says expressly, *Præferatur lectio obscurior, minus emphatica, durior, &c.*

*Præfat. ad Nov. Test. Tom. I. p. xiv.*

15. The six manuscripts quoted by Wettstein for *Asiaς*, are the Alexandrinus, Claromontanus a primâ manu, Augiensis, Boernerianus, and Stephani 1, to which Griesbach has added the Sangermanensis, and four others. It is also the reading of the Coptic, the Æthiopic, the Vulgate, the old Italic, and of seven fathers.

16. Wettstein relates the opinion of the above-mentioned critics, but all that can be referred, with respect to his own sentiments, is that the common reading is at least intelligible. Dr. Griesbach and Dr. Harwood are so decided in favour of *Asiaς*, that they have taken it into the text of their editions.

## PAGE 313.

17. The extent of meaning to be applied to *απαρχη* must be determined by the words with which it is connected. It is true that the numerous converts in Jerusalem, on the day of Pentecost, might be all included under the title *απαρχη των Ιεροσολυμων*, and if a number of Achæans had been converted at the same time, on some extraordinary occasion, they might have been termed collectively, *απαρχη της Αχαιας*. But when this title is applied to an individual in particular, it is reasonable to suppose that St. Paul intended a mark of distinction that was not common to a multitude.

18. The propriety of our author's conclusion depends on the point of view, from which the subject is examined,



ed. It is true that no man would designedly alter *Ασίας* to *Αχαιας*, Rom. xvi. 5. in order to render the sense more clear; but is it not possible that *Αχαιας* might have been written for *Ασίας*, by mistake? As the expression *απαρχη της Αχαιας* occurs in another passage, a careless transcriber, having copied in this place *απαρχη*, might imagine that *της Αχαιας* immediately followed, and write it without further examination; or, as both words begin and end with the same letter, an abbreviation might have given rise to the mistake, or it might have been occasioned by some trivial cause, which we are at present unable to assign.

19. Our author here contends that *εν τῷ πρώτῳ ψαλμῷ* is the genuine reading, Acts xiii. 33. notwithstanding the passage, which is there quoted, is taken from the second Psalm, and that *δευτέρῳ*, the common printed reading, proceeded from a transcriber, who made the alteration in order to remove the seeming difficulty. He observes, that no one would have changed *δευτέρῳ* to *πρωτῷ*, whereas the motive for changing the latter to the former is obvious. He explains the difficulty, not by supposing that the first and second Psalms composed originally only one, but that the first Psalm was originally a kind of preface, and that the numbers prefixed to each Psalm began with that which is now the second. In support of this conjecture he appeals to the Cassel manuscript, in which the first Psalm is written as a preface, and that, which is noted in other MSS. 2, is marked 1. Griesbach has taken *εν τῷ πρώτῳ ψαλμῷ* into the text of his edition, as being supported by the best authority.

20. Our author should have mentioned the arguments, if any exist, by which *καί* is shewn to be the genuine reading, in addition to the authorities produced by Wetstein. Griesbach rejects it as spurious, and prefers the common reading *καί τε*, which has likewise this circumstance in its favour, that *KAITA* might more easily give rise to *KATA*, especially if the *I* was faded, than the latter to the former.

21. Extracts are here given from Treschow's *Festamen descriptionis codicum Vindobonensium*, published at Copenhagen in 1773, 8<sup>vo</sup>. As this work is written in Latin, a translation of German extracts from it is unnecessary.

## PAGE 314.

22. They wrote **י** over **מנשה**, and converted it to **מנחם**, in which manner it is printed in the Hebrew Bibles. This alteration must have been made in a very early age, for Manasseh is found not only in the Syriac, Chaldee, and Arabic, but even in the Greek version. Jerom restored the original reading, yet the modern versions have in general Manasseh.

23. Here is an extract from a letter which Professor Adler, at that time in Rome, had written to our author, relative to a Syriac manuscript of the Gospels, which not only differs both from the Peshito and the Philoxenian version, but is written even in a different dialect, and with characters different from the common Syriac. This remarkable and important MS., which contains what critics call at present the *Versio Hierosolymitana*, will be described in the 12<sup>th</sup> section of the following chapter. Beside this and the Armenian version, which our author quotes for the reading **Ἰησοῦ βαρὰβαν**, Griesbach found it in the Codex Reuchlini, and the Codex Marshi 24, in the Bodleian library. Professor Birch likewise discovered it in a Vatican MS. written in 949, with uncial letters, and noted in the Vatican library, No. 354. in which is a marginal note to Matth. xxvii. 16. written by Anastasius, bishop of Antioch, who relates, that in the most ancient MSS. the passage was as follows. **Τίνα θελεῖτε ἀπο τῶν δυὼ ἀπολυσθῆναι ὑμῖν, ἢ τὸν βαρὰβαν, ἢ ἢν τὸν λεγόμενον ΧΝ.** Adler's *biblisch-critische Reise*, p. 122. See also Birch's Note to this passage, in his edition of the Greek Testament, where he has quoted four other Vatican, and several more MSS., in which the same scholion is found.

## PAGE 315.

24. See Note 17. to chap. II. sect. 12.

## PAGE 316.

25. I have here taken the liberty to omit a long and tedious note, in which our author combats the opinion of Le Clerc and Wetstein, relative to the story of the adulteress, because it is impossible to form an adequate judgment in any controversy from single passages, or fragments of arguments, detached from the general connexion. The most complete information may be had in Griesbach's Note to John vii. 53.

26. The Cod. Cantabrigiensis, Stephani  $\pi$ , and Guelpherbytanus A, with two others of later date; also in the Coptic, Æthiopic, and Persian of the Polyglot. Griesbach has adopted this reading.

27. The Cantabrigiensis and Cyprius; but it is the reading of the Coptic, Æthiopic, the Persian, the old Italic, the Vulgate, the Saxon, and several of the fathers of the four first centuries. Griesbach has restored it in the text of his edition.

28.  $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\nu$  is the reading of the common printed text, and is supported by the authority of several ancient versions,  $\theta\rho\acute{o}\nu$  that of the Cod. Alexandrinus,  $\kappa\rho\upsilon\sigma\tau\acute{o}\nu$  that of the Codex Ephrem. Wetstein and Griesbach prefer  $\kappa\rho\upsilon\sigma\tau\acute{o}\nu$ , and apparently with reason; for it is not only infinitely more intelligible than  $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\nu$ , which alone indeed would be no argument, but might equally give rise to the other two readings.

## PAGE 317.

29. For  $\epsilon\upsilon\chi\eta$ , James v. 15. is written  $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\epsilon\upsilon\chi\eta$  in three manuscripts, because  $\epsilon\upsilon\chi\eta$  occurs only in two other examples of the whole Greek Testament, whereas  $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\epsilon\upsilon\chi\eta$  is used in nearly forty instances.

## PAGE 318.

30. This last interpolation, as quoted by our author, is in the Cod. Cant. alone, but three other manuscripts have a similar interpolation.

## S E C T. XII.

## PAGE 320.

1. Especially by Tertullian and Epiphanius. Marcion on the other hand accused Tertullian of the same practices. Ego meum (scil. evangelium) dico verum, Marcion suum. Ego Marcionis affirmo adulteratum, Marcion meum.

Tertullianus adv. Marcionem, Lib. IV. cap. 4.

## PAGE 320.

2. See Note 10. to Chap. II. sect. 7.

## PAGE 321.

3. See Note 24. to Chap. IV. sect. 5.

4. Vid. Hieronymi Opera, Tom. IV. P. i. p. 392. ed. Martianay. Tertullian also (adv. Marcionem, Lib. V. c. 18.) quotes Ephes. v. 31. without this clause.

## PAGE 322.

5. See Note 28. to the preceding section.

## PAGE 324.

6. Ambrosius de fide, Lib. V. cap. 16. Tom. II. p. 586. ed Benedict.

## PAGE 326.

7. Epiphanius, in mentioning a passage in St. Luke's Gospel, in which it was said, that Jesus wept, has the following remark, Ἀλλὰ καὶ 'Εκλαυσέ' κειται ἐν τῷ κατὰ Λουκᾶ εὐαγγελίῳ ἐν τοῖς ἀδιορθωτοῖς ἀντιγραφοῖς. Ὀρθόδοξοι δὲ ἀφελόντο τὸ ρητόν, φοβηθέντες, καὶ μὴ νοήσαντες αὐτὸ τὸ τέλος.  
(Ancorai,

Ancorat. cap. 31. Tom. II. p. 36. ed. Petavii). The passage which he means is Luke xxii. 43, 44. which is omitted in the Cod. Alexandrinus, and, as appears from Birch's edition, also in the Cod. Vaticanus.

8. The spuriousness of 1 John v. 7. has been shewn by Sir Isaac Newton, in a letter to Le Clerc, first published in London in 1754, and more correctly by Dr. Horsley in 1785, from the author's original copy. See his edition of Newton's Works, Vol. V. p. 495—531. This letter is less known than it deserves, as the immortal author has displayed in it as much critical knowledge, as penetration in his mathematical inquiries. See also Porson's Letters to Travis, published in 1790. The question has been likewise examined, and with great impartiality, by Bengel in his Apparatus Criticus, p. 458—482. 2<sup>d</sup>. ed.

## PAGE 327.

9. Our author, by some extraordinary accident, has entirely perverted this rule of Wetstein, and applied to the orthodox Wetstein's explanation of the heterodox reading. To prevent confusion therefore it is necessary to quote the rule at full length. *Inter duas variantes lectiones ea, quæ magis orthodoxa videtur, non est protinus alteri præferenda. Lectionem minus orthodoxam voco illam, quæ dogma aliquod inter Christianos controversum in illis, in quibus degit lector, partibus vulgo-receptum confirmari existimatur. Lectionem minus orthodoxam intelligo non manifeste erroneam quidem illam et hæreticam (quis enim talem probaret?) sed quæ neutri parti favet, et sensum fundit, qui et reliquis scripturæ locis congruens est, et ab omnibus Christianis admittitur. Quin in dubiâ re hanc lectionem illi præferendam esse judico.* To the rule thus stated no critic will refuse to subscribe. See Dr. Semler's remarks in his edition of *Wetstenii libelli ad crisin atque interpretationem N. T.* p. 75—78,

PAGE 328.

10. This conclusion would presuppose that the passage was genuine, but the present question relates to the decision of doubtful readings.

11. Our author in the whole of this last paragraph has not argued with his usual precision. It is true that if a reading undoubtedly genuine, in a work ascribed to some particular author, contradicts the tenets which he delivers in writings of undoubted authority, it affords at least a presumption that the work in question is falsely ascribed to him. But this has no reference to the present inquiry, which relates merely to the choice of disputed readings in the same passage. The statement therefore should be made in the following manner. Let us suppose that one set of manuscripts has a reading in one of St. Paul's epistles, which is consonant to the general doctrine delivered by the Apostle in his other epistles, and that another set of manuscripts has in the same passage a different reading, and repugnant to his general doctrine: in this case we must conclude that the reading contained in the latter set is spurious. This is probably Wetstein's meaning, when he says, *Lectionem manifeste erroneam et hæreticam quis probaret?* To our author's objection, that the rule cannot be applied in arguing with a Deist, because it implies divine inspiration, we may reply, that the rule as here stated is equally applicable to the manuscripts of Aristotle and Plato.

## S E C T. XIII.

PAGE 329.

1. Our author has here printed a letter written by Professor Birch, during his stay in Rome, relative to the Codex Vaticanus. Various readings of this celebrated manuscript are there given, which were before unknown, all of which may be seen in his edition of the Greek Testament, the title of which is quoted above, sect. viii. Note 12.

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2. Our author's explanation of *παράτος* is attended with many difficulties. The words of Suidas are *παράτοι, επαγωγοί και παράτος, επικαταράτος*. Now if this passage be genuine, the word in question has a different sense in the plural from that which it has in the singular, and our author is mistaken in saying that *παράτος* is synonymous to *επαγωγος*. But Küster, in his Note, very justly suspects that *επαγωγοί* is here spurious. With respect to our author's derivation of *παράτος* from *παράς*, it is contrary to the analogy of the Greek language; for this word ought to be written *επάρας*, with an Iota subscriptum, being the part. aor. 1. of *παίρω*, and it is well known that *παράτος* comes immediately and regularly from *παράομαι*, imprecor.

## PAGE 330.

3. Griesbach quotes likewise the Codex Colbertinus 2844, or Wettstein's Codex 17, in the second part of his Greek Testament.

4. But as our author himself acknowledges that no reading, supported by the authority of a single manuscript only, is entitled to the preference, unless it has very strong internal marks of authenticity, it does not appear that we are warranted to pronounce *ηλει* genuine, as it corresponds neither to the Hebrew nor the Syriac orthography. It is true that *ηλει* approaches nearer than *ελωι* to the Hebrew *הלי*; but as there is no such word in Hebrew as *סαβאχθανי*, and the whole exclamation is Syriac (or which is nearly the same thing, Chaldee, the mode of pointing constituting the chief difference between the two dialects), it is reasonable to suppose that the Syriac word *ελωι* is the genuine reading.

## PAGE 331.

5. For *Βηζαθα* no other manuscript has been quoted than the Codex Stephani η; but Griesbach, who collated this manuscript anew, found in it *Βηθζαθα*, for which Wettstein had quoted only the Codex Colbertinus 2844. It is possible therefore that the reading, which our author describes as very ancient, does not exist.

6. Gri-

6. Griesbach rejects ~~synon~~ on the authority of the very best manuscripts.

7. See Griesbach's *Historia textus epistolarum Paulinarum*, Sect. 1. § 7.

## PAGE 333.

8. To prevent mistakes, it is necessary to observe that N° 24. was not assigned to this manuscript in the Bodleian library, but it was thus noted by its former proprietor. It is Griesbach's Codex 118.

## PAGE 335.

9. See Griesbach's Note to Acts xx. 28.

10. To which may be added *πλειονητας*.

11. See Bengel's Introduction in *crisin Novi Testamenti*, § 21.

12. Also in the Æthiopic.

## PAGE 336.

13. The example, which is here explained, has been already given in the preceding page of this Introduction.

## PAGE 339.

14. Deut. xxix. 18.

15. This admirable chapter has been written by our author with the coolness and impartiality of a profoundly learned critic, without the least regard to any party whatsoever. In subjects purely theological, he has at all times abided by the established doctrine of the Lutheran Church, of which he was a member; but in points of simple criticism, he investigates the truth with all the aid of learning, indifferent as to the event, and wholly unconcerned whether the conclusions, that may be drawn from his inquiries, are favourable to his own system, or to that of his opponents. The attention which has been paid to apparent trifles, both in the text itself, and the notes of the translator, may frequently appear superfluous; but let no one forget that accuracy and impartiality are the two great virtues of a critic, and that objects of  
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no importance in themselves lead not seldom to consequences of the greatest moment. Lastly, we may derive this useful lesson from the foregoing chapter, that charity and moderation toward those, whose sentiments are different from our own, are the greatest ornaments of those who bear the name of Christian. Scriptura sacra non data est hominibus præsertim Christianis, ut se invicem perpetuis disputationibus ex eâ refellerent ac damnarent: paci destinatum opus hoc est, et mutuam caritatem atque tolerantiam ubique spirat atque inculcat. Variationes illæ in tenuissimis plerumque apicibus consistunt, ut vel legatur OC vel  $\overline{\Theta C}$ , KC vel  $\overline{XC}$ , ut articulus item vel apponatur vel omittatur. Quis enim sanæ mentis credat sapientissimam atque benignissimam Dei providentiam ab istis apicibus, qui aciem oculorum fugiunt, res tanti momenti æternam nimirum salutem, vel perniciem hominum suspendere voluisse?

Wetstenii Nov. Test. Tom. II. p. 864.

END OF VOL. I.









